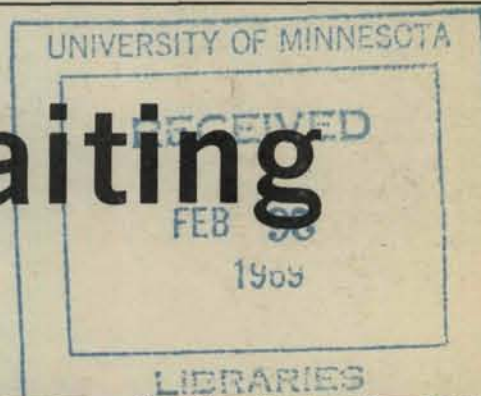




Otepka Is Still Waiting

By WILLARD EDWARDS



One month after President Nixon's inauguration, Otto F. Otepka is still patiently awaiting some word from the Administration that it is giving consideration to his reinstatement as a high-ranking security officer in the State Department.

Otepka, a veteran career officer, is more patient than thousands of his supporters who are beginning to pummel the White House, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and members of



Secretary of State William Rogers is caught between influential House members on one hand and President Nixon's campaign pledges on the other.

Congress with letters demanding that some action be taken in the celebrated case.

He is beginning to be perturbed, however, by the lack of response to his latest application for a 60-day extension of leave without pay. Receipt of this request by registered mail was acknowledged by a secretary in Rogers' office on February 7. There has been

no response to date.

Otepka will have been on the leave-without-pay status for one year on April 12. If the extension is not granted, he will lose on that date his government life insurance and health benefits.

His battle for vindication, waged in the more than five years since he was fired on Nov. 5, 1963, for conduct "unbecoming to a State Department officer," has cost \$50,000. This total includes \$27,000 for legal expenses, all of which were raised by the American Defense Fund, headed by James M. Stewart of Palatine, Ill. The remainder of \$23,000 came out of Otepka's savings and loans from relatives.

The remainder of \$23,000 represents loss of earnings during the leave-without-pay period and as a result of the demotion in grade ordered by former Secretary of State Dean Rusk on Dec. 9, 1967. Rusk was forced to cancel Otepka's dismissal, after four years of dragged-out hearings, but penalized him with a severe reprimand, the demotion and an order stripping him of his security duties.

In April 1968, refusing to perform demeaning clerical assignments, Otepka began requesting leave without pay. His wife, an elementary school teacher, has supported the family since then. Otepka's savings have been depleted.

What is the present status of the Otepka case, branded by a Senate subcommittee as "extraordinary and calculated harassment of a dedicated and loyal patriot," for refusing to cover up security risks in the State Department? Why is the Nixon Administration delaying action?



Although Otto Otepka's fight to retain his position has met setbacks, he still has hope the Nixon Administration will see the justice of his case.

An inquiry suggested that it has been overshadowed by other problems in the transition period. The President and secretary of state are presently absorbed in a mission to Europe.

An added element, it must be conceded, is the retention in the State Department of forces hostile to Otepka. It is reliably reported, moreover, that Rusk, before his departure, sought to influence Rogers against Otepka's vindication.

Although attorney Roger Robb, representing Otepka, has properly refused to discuss any negotiations affecting the case, it can be stated that Rogers has outlined to him the quandary in which he finds himself.

If Otepka, for example, were restored to his old position as chief of the Evaluation Division in the Office of

Security, his superior would be Idar Rimestad, deputy under secretary for administration, an old Otepka foe.

But Rogers can't get rid of Rimestad for a few months, at least. The official is a protege of Rep. John Rooney (D.-N.Y.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee which handles the State Department's funds. If you fire Rimestad, Rooney informed Rogers, be prepared for real trouble with your appropriation.

Otepka himself concedes that his position under Rimestad would be untenable. He is amenable to any proposal which will permit him to use the talents which gained him merit awards under the Eisenhower Administration for "an outstanding display of sound judgment, creative work and acceptance of unusual responsibilities."

He will take no settlement, however, which does not include a complete reinstatement to his former position, grade and salary, together with the issuance of a statement finding the charges against him unfounded and untrue. Offered anything less, he will appeal to the courts.

Three Administrations would suffer as a result. The Nixon Administration would be embarrassed by the implication that it had denied fair treatment to a courageous public servant. Open hearings, the first ever permitted in the case, would prove profoundly disturbing to high figures in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

Otepka has not lost faith that the President will keep his pledge, voiced last October 4, that he will see justice done to "this man who has worked so long and so well for his country." (1969, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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● As the colleges and public schools continue to flare up in one tumultuous demonstration after another, the left-wing National Student Association has decided to fuel the combustion. In the upcoming weeks, according to NSA President Robert Powell, the NSA will 1) launch an exclusively black student organization that will back up the outrageous demands of student Negro militants, and 2) challenge the constitutionality of compelling colleges to cut off federal aid to students convicted of campus disruptions. Something can be done about the NSA, however. Conservatives should write their congressmen and ask them why they continue to permit the Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity to dole out lavish funds to this disruptive student organization.

● Gov. Ronald Reagan is telling friends that he's not at all unhappy with the departure of two Republican officials from the state of California: Robert Finch, the moderate lieutenant governor who is now secretary of HEW, and John Veneman, the liberal California assemblyman who has become a Finch assistant. Both Finch and Veneman, it is reported, used to give the governor a number of headaches over Golden State affairs.

● In his new book, *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson*, former White House aide Eric Goldman writes that LBJ was convinced that the Soviets were egging on liberal opposition to the Viet Nam war. According to Goldman, Johnson believed that "The Russians were in constant touch with anti-war senators—and he named names. These senators ate lunch and went to parties at the Soviet Embassy; children of their staff people dated Russians. 'The Russians think up things for the senators to say. I often know before they do what their speeches are going to say.'" While Goldman told LBJ he didn't believe this was true, Johnson remarked he had received his information from the FBI and the CIA, who kept him informed about what was "really going on."

● While the liberals last week were bleating about the alleged ineffectiveness of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—now renamed the House Committee on Internal Security—Robert M. Shelton Jr., Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, was in Texarkana, Tex., to begin serving a one-year prison sentence for contempt of Congress. The reason Shelton is going to jail: his refusal to cooperate with HCUA in 1966 after its very effective investigation of the Klan.

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Capital Briefs

● Although the Washington Senators' astounding coup in luring baseball great Ted Williams out of retirement to manage the team has given President Nixon competition for headlines, it will not furnish any political competition. Sports columnist Red Smith reports that when then-Sen. John F. Kennedy was scheduled to attend a Boston Red Sox game in 1959, outfielder Williams was persuaded to shake hands with him. "I'll shake hands with him," lifelong Republican Williams agreed, "but I'm not voting for him." Interestingly, the man who persuaded Williams to take the Washington job, Senators' owner Robert Short, was Hubert Humphrey's major fund raiser in last year's campaign.

● The Nixons have decided against making extensive changes in the White House decor, but the new President did make one alteration upon taking over the Oval Office: Nixon removed a mammoth portrait of LBJ's idol Franklin D. Roosevelt, replacing it with a Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington.

● President Nixon's appointments to the Washington, D.C., city council are considered "so-so," according to some conservatives, but there is some concern with his selection of Sterling Tucker. Tucker was convicted of tax evasion in 1959 and pleaded no contest in a Cleveland federal court for failing to pay \$1,661 in taxes from 1951 to 1954. LBJ pardoned him on Christmas Eve, 1966, but refused to appoint him to the council because of his conviction. Tucker has also flirted with some of the more irrational black militants—though he was recently kicked out of the super-militant Black United Front—and helped lead the Rev. Ralph Abernathy's "March on Washington" last year.

● Conservatives will be disheartened to hear that Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), for years the Senate's leading fiscal watchdog and investigator of government wrongdoings, has announced he will not run for re-election next year. Characteristically, however, Williams was only acting on principle; he believes that senators—as with all government officials—should have a mandatory retirement age and that 65, his present age, is as good as any.

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Shriver Fueling Kennedy Drive?

President Nixon's retention of Kennedy brother-in-law R. Sargent Shriver as ambassador to France could turn into a major political blunder—and help make possible Nixon's undoing in 1972. For while Shriver is supposed to be improving relations with the French and serving the new President, he has actually been spending a good deal of the time turning the U.S. Embassy in Paris into a propaganda mill for the Kennedy name—a factor that could prove vitally important if Teddy Kennedy is on the Democratic ticket in 1972.



SHRIVER

Sources in France inform *Human Events* that a central vehicle toward promoting the Kennedy name is the Paris-based John F. Kennedy Club, headed by a French law student named Jean Paul Pourade. Pierre Salinger, a former Kennedy aide, they stress, is a prime mover behind the club and is building it into a worldwide organization with a chain of club chapters in countries all over the globe, including the United States.

Ambassador Shriver, Mrs. Shriver and several members of the U.S. Embassy staff in Paris are helping Salinger in this vigorous effort and are also placing the embassy and the United States Information Service at Salinger's disposal.

Headquarters for the JFK Club are in the American Cultural Center at 3 Rue du Dragon. The Cultural Center is part of the USIS operation in Paris and serves as an informal meeting place for foreign students and adults interested in learning about the United States.

According to Pourade, Shriver was of immense help in creating the club, whose purpose is to promote the Kennedy mystique. When he couldn't get any help from the French government—which frankly thinks the club is a CIA front—he wrote to Ambassador Shriver on September 4.

Shriver replied and set up a meeting with Pourade in his office on September 25. Shriver then arranged for Pourade to see Salinger who agreed to help all he could and accepted the title of Technical Advisor to the club. The U.S. ambassador also told Pourade to work closely with Philip Benson, an assistant to Dr. Gordon Wright of the U.S. Embassy, and James F. Dobbins Jr., the embassy's third secretary.

After seeing to it that Pourade could set up his headquarters in the USIS office, Shriver explained that as U.S. ambassador and a member of the Kennedy family he could not help the club officially, but Mrs. Shriver is now its honorary president. Pourade says he meets constantly with Salinger either in his home or at the American Cultural Center to discuss future operations.

The club, apparently, raises money in a rather unusual fashion. According to its vice president, Jean Philip Godard, U.S. Embassy officials arrange parties at which club members can charge for drinks. Others maintain that the JFK Club actually charges admission to see USIS-owned movies shown in the center. Howard Hardy, assistant director of the American Cultural Center, says club members don't really charge entrance fees as such—which would be illegal—but collect "contributions" for the club outside the center when the movies are being shown.

At any rate, the club apparently has enough help and money so that it can start going international. Pourade claims the Paris office has now organized clubs in Italy, Switzerland, West Germany, Belgium, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Honolulu.

He says that one of the secretary-generals of the Kennedy Club is a Mrs. Rater, who, together with Anne Mansfield, daughter of Sen. Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.), is organizing a JFK Club in London. Salinger's son, Steven, who is a student in Paris and is also a member of the club, has been to Scandinavia

to contact friends of his father in order to form JFK Clubs there.

Pourade hopes that by 1970 a JFK Club World Convention will be held in Berlin, with the main speakers to be West German Socialist Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, Pierre Salinger and Sen. Edward Kennedy.

Despite all the help being given the club by the USIS, many officials are initially wary of letting on what they are doing. One source informs *Human Events*: "I went to the Information/Documentation



Center of USIS and asked if they had any publication or releases of the JFK Club. I talked to Miss R. Lemaitre, head of the office. She said that they have nothing, because it is a private club and has nothing to do with USIS.

"I told her that there has been some publicity and wouldn't they have something for the press to tell the story. An assistant of hers said that they had some releases in the file. I asked to see them. Very annoyed, Miss Lemaitre said it was nothing, but finally produced an article in the *International Herald Tribune* of Nov. 25, 1967, and an article in *Le Figaro* of Nov. 17, 1968."

After this, Miss Lemaitre apparently had a slight change of heart. She said to our informant: "Let me show you something really interesting. We are very busy here in the USIS office translating all of John Kennedy's speeches from English to French, especially those from 1961 to 1964." Our informant continues, "She showed me several big folders and said that they had already translated approximately 100 speeches, and are sending them to French publications, etc. Then she told me they have been trying to get all the speeches published in book form in France, but so far they have had no luck and she wondered if I knew some publishers who might be interested. I asked her if they also were translating the Nixon speeches. She gave me a dirty look and handed me a copy of Nixon's inauguration speech, translated in French."

Currently, the JFK Clubs are just getting off the ground, but many observers believe there is far more to this project than just the commemoration of John F. Kennedy. More than a few politicians believe these clubs are part of a gigantic political operation to not only sell the Kennedy name around the world, but to drum up youthful, idealistic precinct workers—the same kind who worked for McCarthy in 1968—to help Teddy Kennedy in his probable presidential bid in 1972. But this time these workers will not be confined within U.S. borders. At any rate, President Nixon is well advised to take a closer look at his ambassador to France.

Demo Holdovers Burn GOP

Conservatives are displeased with more than the retention of Sargent Shriver, of course. At a recent gathering of assistant secretaries from various departments, one Republican observer lamented that

"there wasn't a new face in the crowd." Instances of hiring Democrats or letting them remain in office abound.

Conservative irritation reached a boiling point just two weeks ago with the State Department's announcement that it was keeping on, with a promotion and a raise, Robert J. McCloskey, who served as Dean Rusk's deputy assistant for public affairs. Although no policymaker, as State's chief liaison and briefing officer McCloskey has for years been a symbol of the discredited LBJ policy.

The number of high-powered Democratic political operators who remain in influential and well-paid jobs appears abnormally high to many seasoned politicians. You seem to find Democrats everywhere, and they're not moving out.

In the Post Office, for instance, Tom Chadwick, a Southern coordinator for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket, is special assistant to the assistant postmaster general in charge of the Bureau of Finance and Administration.

Dennis A. Jensen, former executive director of the Democratic party in South Dakota, is head of the Realty Division in the Post Office.

Robert W. Nelson, a former administrative assistant to Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), is a deputy assistant secretary in the Interior Department.

Wherever one starts poking around, it seems, he can come up with a leading Democrat. (For more on this problem, see Phyllis Schlafly's "Patronage Is the Name of the Game," *Human Events*, February 15.)

Howard Samuels, a politically ambitious New York Democrat, still heads the Small Business Administration, though he, at least, is expected to be replaced by Sen. John Tower's man, Hilary Sandoval. While on the job this month, however, Samuels has been frenetically stocking his bailiwick with Democrats.

In South Dakota, for instance, Samuels recently formed a state SBA advisory committee. Two of those serving on the committee: Jack Allman, a Democrat who ran against staunch Republican E. Y. Berry in 1966, and Jack Weiland, executive secretary of the state's Democratic party.

While some Republican lawmakers stress that things are somewhat better since they have lodged vigorous complaints with the Administration, virtually every GOP politico thinks Nixon is courting disaster with his failure to remove—and remove quickly—leading liberal Democrats.

But Hawks Fill Defense Posts

Despite sharp criticism of various departments under the Nixon Administration, hawkish foreign policy experts are, however, pleased by the shaping up of the Defense Department under Melvin Laird. Laird refuses to back down on his contention that the United States must negotiate with the Russians from a position of superior military strength. Further, he feels that the Soviets are far too belligerent at the present time for us to enter into successful disarmament negotiations. Another sign that his shop is going to hammer home the hard line was the selection last week of G. Warren Nutter to fill the sensitive job of assistant secretary of defense for international affairs. The post is often known as the Pentagon's State Department. Nutter, a former CIA official who had the major staff responsibilities for Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign speeches in 1964, is considered a hard liner when it comes to Soviet affairs. A renowned expert on Soviet economics, he has contended in the past that the United States should use its economic might to squeeze political concessions from the Soviets.

Reds Test Nixon in Berlin

As President Nixon leaves for his European tour, the big question is what will happen when he touches down in West Berlin. Egged on by the Soviets, the city's left-wing students have threatened to create wild disturbances upon his arrival. The Soviets have also issued an indirect threat. In an informal message delivered at the White House by Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, the Russians have warned the President against permitting West German officials to accompany him on his flight to West Berlin. Yet unless there is a last-minute change, Nixon plans to have Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger and other West German authorities travel along with him to underscore U.S.-German unity on the issue of Berlin's freedom.

Nixon's advisers, however, are split over what he should do, with White House foreign policy adviser Henry Kissinger advising the President not to chance a direct confrontation with the Russians at this time. He is reportedly recommending that the President make his flight alone to West Berlin with the West German officials taking another plane. This would follow tradition and is also the course recommended by certain hard-line foreign policy specialists who feel that a joint flight would raise unnecessary questions over allied control of Berlin.

But more hawkish military and intelligence advisers are saying that any change in the President's plans would be taken by the Russians as a definite sign of weakness and could lead to a full-scale effort by the Soviets and East Germans to block the West Germans' presidential elections, scheduled to be held in Berlin on March 5.

Whatever the intrinsic merits of either Kissinger's or the military's advice, foreign policy observers are saying that this is the time that the Communists are planning to test the new American President. How he reacts to the pressure, they contend, will have a definite bearing on America's ability to contain Communist aggression in the future.

Radical Leftist Hired by Justice

Atty. Gen. John Mitchell is being encouraged to take a close look at the staffing of the newly created National Law Enforcement Assistance Administration that took place under his predecessor, Ramsey Clark.

Designed to help the states reduce crime through a variety of functions, including the dispensing of \$63 million in aid, this Justice Department panel, it now turns out, last year hired a radical leftist active in the anti-draft movement as a "consultant" on civil disorders.

The Justice Department's new employee is Donald E. Ganoung, a former Episcopal minister who has twice been convicted for his disruptive activities. Police sources in the San Francisco Bay Area report that his past activities are now under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Government files disclose that Ganoung has been closely tied to the draft resistance movement. A story in the Oct. 8, 1967, *Worker*, official organ of the Communist party, reveals that Ganoung was supporting far-left proposals to provide draft-dodgers "sanctuary" in churches.

Only last April, Ganoung signed a nationwide "Call to Resist" circulated by the Committee for Draft Resistance.

Ganoung's anti-draft activities included participation in the tumultuous June 1967 demonstrations at the Oakland, Calif., Induction Center. He was arrested during that demonstration, charged with disorderly conduct and later convicted.

On April 11, 1964, Ganoung joined with other Bay Area radicals in a massive protest against alleged discrimination by local car dealers. Ignoring police orders to leave, Ganoung was arrested and later convicted, receiving a suspended 20-day jail term, six months' probation, and a \$56 fine.

In March 1965, Ganoung addressed a rally of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, according to official files. The ILWU was ousted from the CIO as Communist-dominated.

Spokesmen at the National Law Enforcement Assistance Administration reveal that one of Ganoung's assignments is to observe "developments" at San Francisco State College. But Bay Area police expect something less than a fair shake from the former clergyman. Ganoung has worked closely with hippies and peace activists in recent years, they say, and has frequently "preached an anti-police line" in his talks to them.

Since Mitchell takes a no-nonsense attitude on law enforcement, however, many observers believe that Ganoung—once his background is brought to the attention of the new attorney general—will soon be looking for another job.

NEA to Deal With 'Extremists'

Is the super-liberal National Education Association (NEA), the most powerful education lobby in the country, waking up to the danger of radical infiltration of the schools?

As campuses across the country are under siege from revolutionaries who are physically assaulting teachers and administrators, closing down classes through Gestapo-like tactics and zealously preaching Marxist gospel, the good old NEA has finally decided to hold a meeting on how to deal with "extremists." A February press release relates that "With assault on the schools increasing, some 200 persons will meet here [Washington, D.C.] March 7-8 to consider strategy for 'Dealing with Extremist Attacks.'"

An invitation to the conference at Crabtree Auditorium in the NEA building explains that "Extremist attacks on education are growing. The curricula of schools have been curtailed or eliminated in five communities and the extremists are particularly active in 14 states."

Encouraged by this apparently new outlook of the NEA's, *Human Events* contacted spokesman Paul Putnam to find out just who some of the speakers might be. Who, for instance, would speak on the Black Panthers, the Black Students Union, the Communist party, the SDSers and all the other left-wing groups attempting to seize the schools?

Well, Mr. Putnam explained, the conference isn't really going to deal with these groups—though it may at some future and undetermined date. For the real threat the conference hopes to expose is that favorite bogeyman of the NEA, the "far right."

These "extremists," according to literature handed out through Putnam's office, have been engaged in such terrible demonstrations like "mass mailings to teachers attacking their professional education associations" and trying to prevent schools from "adopting a curriculum on Family Life and Sex Education." Moreover, they have been successful in "some communities" in curbing these courses.

In order to alert the public to these dangerous doings, the NEA has scheduled a number of special "far right watchers" for the conference, including Wesley McCune, director of Group Research, Inc., and Jerome H. Bakst, director of research and evaluation for the Anti-Defamation League. Much of the conference, reportedly, will also dwell at length on the sins of the John Birch Society and one of its films.

Meanwhile, of course, Marxist-minded revolutionaries continue to disrupt high schools and colleges from coast to coast.

Ford's Tax-Exempt Meddling

As the House Ways and Means Committee began hearings on tax reform last week, members of Congress received some eye-opening information on how private foundations have been using tax-exempt funds to promote extraordinary political and social experiments.

Most intriguing to the lawmakers were the activities of the Ford Foundation, a far-flung financial empire which has become a sort of private preserve of fans of the Kennedy brothers.

Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), powerful chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, reported that the Ford Foundation—headed by McGeorge Bundy and David Bell, both top officials in the Kennedy Administration—had spent \$131,000 to provide lush travel and study grants for eight former aides of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy. Furthermore, as a committee staffer told *Human Events*, these grants were bestowed in such a way that the eight may not have to pay any income tax on the funds they received.

As the lead-off witness before Ways and Means, Patman also remarked that:

• The Ford Foundation had approved a \$175,000 grant primarily to help a CORE voter-registration drive in Cleveland that led to the election of Carl Stokes over Seth Taft as mayor of the city.

• Ford helped finance New York City's "experimental schools" which have become a breeding ground for racial militants and have helped provoke at least three city-wide teachers' strikes. New Yorkers have accused the foundation of dangerously tampering with the city's public schools and exerting a shameful influence over key Board of Education members, some of whom have also benefited from foundation money.

• The Ford Foundation made direct grants (in U.S. dollars) to at least 25 foreign governments during 1965-1967, including such nations as the United Arab Republic and Tanzania.

Ford, however, was not the only foundation under scrutiny by committee members. Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills asked J. George Harrar, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, whether foundations should be allowed to give tax-free funds to foreign governments, while an individual cannot make similar donations of tax-free money. Harrar rationalized such contributions by drawing a distinction between "institutional rather than individual" contributions.



MILLS

Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corp., supported recommendations for tighter controls made by the Treasury Department. Calling for greater public disclosures of how funds are spent, Pifer said that "among the 249 foundations with assets of over \$10 million, less than a third have ever issued a public report and fewer than a quarter do so regularly."

Whether the probe is having any discernible effect on the foundations, however, is debatable. Last week the Ford Foundation announced grants totaling \$255,934 for various studies and experiments, ranging from drug use to the effects of urban-suburban integration. In addition, the National Student Association, which sides with the black and white militants in the schools, revealed that the Ford Foundation is one of its primary sources of funds.

Unless the foundations remove themselves from volatile political projects, however, Congress may well resort to clamping down on their heretofore sacrosanct tax-exempt status.

Congress' lower chamber last week changed the name of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) to the House Committee on Internal Security (HCIS) and clarified the panel's investigative powers. The liberals—led by Democratic Representatives Emanuel Celler (N.Y.), Don Edwards (Calif.) and Frank Thompson (N.J.)—voted against the change on the grounds that HCIS should either be abolished altogether or come under the jurisdiction of the House Judiciary Committee. One of the liberals who lined up against the committee: new member Louis Stokes (D.-Ohio). How your congressman voted on the issue can be seen on page 15.

Will You Help *HUMAN EVENTS*

INFLUENCE 2,236 KEY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

With the Conservative Message?

Whatever happened to the principles of the American Revolution? The concept of maximum freedom of action for the individual, with minimum interference by government, has been steadily subverted since the New Deal.

Look at us today. So bloated is government that it employs over 12 million persons, a number equal to the total population of the United States a hundred and forty years ago. Our national debt is a staggering \$350 billion, or \$1,700 for every man, woman and child. Inflation has eroded the 1939 dollar to 41 cents. Crime, by every available index, is like a fire raging out of control. Abroad, we are distrusted by our allies and ridiculed by our enemies for the paralysis and indecision that has characterized our national strategy since the end of the Second World War.

The Time to Stop These Trends is Now!

A new Administration and a new Congress have now begun to function. Neither is sufficiently conservative by our standards, but at least there is a nucleus within each that makes it possible for the first time in eight years for conservatives to exercise some measure of constructive influence. Therefore, one of the main tasks of *HUMAN EVENTS* will be to set the conservative position before some of the nation's key elected and appointed officials. Those who are now in a position to undo the mischief of the past—beginning with Mr. Nixon—must be constantly reminded that the conservative community is alive and well and determined to see that campaign promises are not forgotten.

You can be very certain that the legions of the left are busy at this moment grinding out their arguments for more socialism at home and more appeasement abroad. How influential they will be depends, quite simply, on whether their ideas are met with sounder ideas, their pressure with our counter pressure. Without this competition of ideas and pressures the liberal position will surely prevail by default. *The case for Constitutional government, for sound economic and defense policies, for a firm posture toward world Communism, must be regularly and forcefully articulated to those who are in a position to carry it out!*

Reaching the Key Officials

Toward this end, we will mail *HUMAN EVENTS*, for the next two years, to a carefully selected group of officials whose decisions will shape the direction of our foreign and domestic policies. They are:

- ★ 447 key individuals in the Executive Branch, including the President, the White House staff, Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officers, and key persons in various executive departments and agencies.
- ★ 111 key individuals in independent Government agencies, boards and commissions.
- ★ 93 key individuals in the Federal Judiciary, including members of the Supreme Court and U.S. Court of Appeals.
- ★ 535 United States Senators and Representatives.
- ★ 535 principal staff aides to each Senator and Representative.
- ★ 265 selected staff members of key House and Senate Committees and Subcommittees.
- ★ 50 Governors.
- ★ 200 Majority and Minority leaders of each state legislature.

This list of 2,236 persons is based on what is now known about the structure of the new Administration. The final total may vary slightly as the Executive Departments are reorganized. Existing subscriptions will not be duplicated and in most cases the subscriptions will be mailed to home addresses.

HUMAN EVENTS Conservative Leadership Fund

We do not, of course, pretend that each of these persons will dutifully read every word in each week's issue. But enough of them will to justify the result. We *know* that programs of this kind do have an impact. Fifteen months before the November elections, we established the *Conservative Leadership Fund* to send *HUMAN EVENTS* to the nation's "Opinion Molders"—those editors, writers and broadcasters who largely shape the views of the average American voter. By election day, 12,000 of the most important of these "Opinion Molders" were receiving *HUMAN EVENTS*. Based on letters, calls and personal comments from many of them, we are fully convinced that the conservative position was better understood as a result and that conservative candidates at every level benefited from a less hostile press.

Please Help Us in This Effort!

We project a cost of approximately \$40,000 (in addition to fund-raising costs) to finance two-year subscriptions to these 2,236 officials. This is in no way a profit-producing program for *HUMAN EVENTS*: We will fulfill these subscriptions at exactly what it costs us, and not one cent will be used to underwrite *HUMAN EVENTS*' general operations. We will begin sending these subscriptions in March and will continue as long as funds permit.

We hope that you will share our serious but optimistic view of this program, which we earnestly believe is one of the best means available to insure that the conservative point of view systematically reaches some of the nation's most powerful and influential persons.

Send Your Support Now

Use the form below to help us begin reaching these 2,236 key government officials with *HUMAN EVENTS*. *Send your maximum contribution to the Conservative Leadership Fund today!*

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Big Brother and the Cigarette Ban

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

A predictable cry of protest arose two weeks ago when the Federal Communications Commission announced its position on cigarettes. If Congress will give it the authority, the FCC will issue an order flatly prohibiting the advertising of cigarettes on any radio or television station within the United States.

Most of those who protested, sad to say, protested for the wrong reasons. Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina was not among them; he hit straight at the grave constitutional question. So did columnist David Lawrence. But most of the other comment dealt instead with the merits of an entirely separate issue—the relationship between smoking and health.

It is important that the medical and constitutional questions be kept apart.

The medical question is, of course, a cause for continuing concern. Do



Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) questions the government's constitutional right to ban cigarette advertising.

cigarettes cause cancer of the lung? Is smoking a significant factor in heart disease, chronic bronchitis, and pulmonary emphysema? Five years after the famous report of the surgeon-general's committee on smoking and health, and 15 years after Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond began gathering his massive shelf of statistics, the answers remain uncertain.

The probabilities are that smoking—especially heavy smoking—does cause lung cancer in many persons. Even the most skeptical critic of the anti-cigarette reports is compelled to acknowledge the weight of the evidence. The statistics are impressive. In the past couple of years, moreover, lung cancers actually have been induced in laboratory animals by the inhalation of smoke.

Yet probabilities are still far removed from certainties. Any person who troubles to study both sides of the controversy, and not merely to accept uncritically the reports of the Public Health Service and the American Cancer Society, will discover that scientists of impeccable reputations are not all convinced.

It is a fair statement that the great bulk of the evidence remains statistical evidence. There is nothing inherently wrong in this. But the trouble here, as a number of able statisticians have observed, is that the statistics are not all that solid. The figures reflect dozens of inconsistencies and contradictions. The cause-and-effect relationship of smoking and cancer simply is not known, in the sense that Salk and Sabin came finally to know what caused infantile paralysis. The relationship remains a matter of conjecture.

All this is beside the main point. As a matter of law, cigarettes are still a lawful commodity—as lawful as beer, wine, headache pills, or mouthwash. They are as lawful as automobiles, which also are charged with killing 50,000 persons a year. And when the FCC undertakes to prohibit the advertising of any lawful commodity, the FCC wades into deep constitutional waters.

So drastic an edict cannot be permitted—not so long as we adhere to the principles of a free society. It would be unthinkable for the Congress to enact some law prohibiting

the advertising of cigarettes in magazines and newspapers; such a law would be struck down at once. The same 1st Amendment principles apply, by extension, to advertising by radio and TV—and the administrative act of licensing cannot validly be converted into arbitrary acts of censorship and suppression.

This is by far the more important issue. One day the causes of cancer will be found; some virus—if that's what it is—will be isolated, perhaps in tar, nicotine, or gas. Perhaps means will be found to eliminate the carcinogen or to immunize against it. No one knows.

Soviet Dollars Still Pour In

Despite Set-Backs, Communist Party Pushes On

By VICTOR RIESEL

New York:—Shoot-outs, bust-ins, fire-bombings, sit-ins and grovel-ins, seizures and building burnings are the trademarks of the new revolution. But it is the revolt of the extremist young, black and white. It is not the dreary revolt drafted and redrafted by the Communist Party, U.S.A.

This party, in its brownstone mausoleum at 23 West 26th Street, is a corpse. But the Soviet Union refuses to bury its dead. Instead, somehow, the living corpse, shuffling along, is heavily financed, probably at a cost of a million dollars a year.

The party, led by the intractable, posh-living suburbanite Gus Hall, spends money as though it were printing it.

In some fashion the "movement" supports a "newspaper," the *Daily World*. Strongly pro-Arab, bitterly anti-Israel, staunchly pro-Soviet, angrily anti-Maoist and brimming with hatred of Czech liberals, the publication claims a circulation of some 25,000, but probably sells only 15,000 in the U.S. Foreign subscriptions are what bring in the gold flow.

Obviously every reader is not a voter. After some considerable digging by this reporter, including calls to the party's headquarters and publications, I find that they offer no definitive figure for the showing of its presidential candidate, Mrs. Charlene Mitchell, Los Angeles Negro bookkeeper.

The best that can be reported is a national tally of 1,075 votes—most of them cast in Minnesota and California. There were some 23 tallies in Ohio—a state where Party Secretary (the boss) Gus Hall began his own explosive career.

Sic transit gloria Stalinist propaganda. With no effort at all, Black Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, now a fugitive, rolled up 195,134 votes on the Peace and Freedom party ticket. The once-upon-a-time comedian, Dick Gregory, took 148,622, running on both the Freedom and Peace and New party tickets.

Thus, the black revolutionists piled up a total of some 343,756, to the Communist party's 1,075 votes. Compare this with the CP-U.S.A.'s top vote of 102,991 for William Zebulon Foster, the old steel industry radical in 1932.

Obviously today's extremists have it all over the cut-glass era. The revolution's the "thing" of the Maoist kids,

the Castroite students, the gun-running Panthers, the second-generation Progressive Laborites, and the conspiratorial cells which have infiltrated educational systems, community action groups by the hundreds, and now are seeping into the big unions—especially in Detroit and Pittsburgh.

But the "American desk" of the Soviet organization's Central Committee and its John le Carré-like intelligence systems are stubborn. They need an



Although Gus Hall's Communist party has been upstaged by the black militants and pro-Mao radicals, the CPUSA is still up to much mischief.

American Communist party to fill the image of a world movement and to cast a ballot for Soviet policy at coming global conferences of national Communist movements.

So the American Communist party will make one last effort to hoist itself from the political grave.

Secretly, Gus Hall called a National Committee meeting of the "party" for February 20 and 21. He told his ideologically ragged, disintegrating battalions of comrades—now down to some 6,000 members—that the guarded sessions would develop a program for the coming national convention. This is scheduled now for New York or Chicago on April 30 through May 4.

Actually, Gus Hall will lay down the Soviet line. He will tell the National Committee that there just can be no deviation. Moscow must be followed—on the anti-Jewish issue, the black revolution and the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

It will be rough going as Hall attempts to pull a Stalin. There apparently is some honor left among ideological thieves. Paul Novick, editor of

Meanwhile, voluntary efforts to reduce cigarette consumption are working—and this is all that government should try to do. When Big Brother attempts to impose his own ideas in the fashion proposed by the FCC, our body politic falls victim to a form of cancer that may never be cured at all.

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SEN. EDMUND MUSKIE (D.-Maine) has told friends that he is going all-out for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972. Muskie, Hubert Humphrey's 1968 running mate, is lining up speaking dates throughout the country and plans to visit Japan and England this spring. "Ted Kennedy can make the papers by blowing his nose," Muskie commented. "Me, I've got to work at it."

Freiheit (Freedom), has been slashing Hall for supporting the Arab cause in the Middle East. A few old-fashioned revolutionists, left from the days of the Depression, are cutting at Hall for accepting the line that the Russians have the right to interfere anywhere in the Socialist camp any time a liberal trend shows its idealistic head.

Negro campaigner Charlene Mitchell is pressuring Hall to get off the Moscow line and abandon the party's old Negro Commission, which is described in CP circles as "Red Uncle Toms." The presidential candidate wants the commission replaced by a Black Liberation Committee which would have its own black caucus inside the party.

But Hall holds fast. To break with Moscow means to break with the gold flow. He'll follow the Soviet's corkscrew line even if the next party convention will have to be held in a phone booth.

The party is over. But the gold rush is not. Why, then, should the USSR be permitted to operate so blatantly in our land? There should at least be reciprocal trading. Why should the Soviet Union not be opened to our propagandists?

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SDS Outlines 'Winter-Spring Offensive'

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Conclusive evidence is in the hands of congressional investigators disclosing the existence of a detailed plan for fomenting student uprisings, agitational demonstrations and other disturbances and violence in universities and high schools throughout the country.

Instigator of this nationwide conspiracy is the revolutionary Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), in close alliance with the extremist Black Panther party.

Some 300 representatives of SDS, the Black Panthers, the Progressive Labor party (a pro-Red Chinese Communist faction), and other radical elements deliberated this sinister plot at an unpublicized meeting at Princeton University early this month.

Primary basis of their discussion was a five-page SDS tract titled "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools: A National Winter-Spring Offensive."

Throughout, the document parallels Communist doctrine. In tenor, terminology and every other aspect, it echoes undiluted party line ideology and policy, including its characteristic racist appeal to Negroes. Great emphasis is placed on portraying them as the spearhead of the "mass anti-war and anti-imperialist offensive."

To "denote the mid-point" of the "spring-winter offensive," the SDS calls for a "mass mobilization in Washington in early April."

Its purpose is summarized as follows:

"This mobilization will be the clearest presentation, since 1965, of SDS' political position: Support for black liberation; immediate withdrawal [from Viet Nam]; smash imperialism. . . . The war remains, with the black struggle, the primary embodiment of American capitalism. . . . We must no longer merely resist imperialism, we must mobilize the people to combat it."

To fuel the "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools" offensive among university and high school students throughout the country, the SDS propounds the following five demands:

1. No ROTC.
2. No war or counter-insurgency research.
3. No military or war recruiting.
4. No draft assemblies in high schools.
5. No high school sending of names to draft boards.

Under the subtitle "Strategy," the SDS tract directs that chapters adopt the five demands as the basis for local drives in universities and high schools, and for initiating "militant actions around these demands immediately after the Washington march."

Repeatedly the document stresses that these demands "must always be made explicitly anti-racist as well as anti-imperialist."

This is essential, it is explained, in order to "coordinate organizing and local actions on a long-term basis around

a national program and as part of a larger strategy."

In pursuing this "larger strategy," the SDS tract lays down one stern admonition—make sure to retain "complete control."

Listed as planners and organizers of the April 12-13 "mass mobilization in Washington" are the following:

"Lewis Cole, Columbia SDS; Dick Fried, New Jersey regional; Juan Gonzalez, Columbia; Mike Kazin, Harvard; Eric Mann, N. England reg.; Bob Kirkman, NYU; Tom Hurwitz, Columbia; Roger Lipman, U. of Washington; Chip Marshall, Niagara; Joe Kelly, Niagara region; Jim Tarlau, Princeton; Jean Weissman, WDRU; Dan Swinney, WDRU."

★ ★ ★

Members of Congress are still being enraged with irate denunciations of the 41 per cent pay increase it recently voted itself—from \$30,000 to \$42,500 a year.

Hundreds of indignant letters and derisive "bundles to Congress" are continuing to pour in from all over the country. The "bundles" contain old clothes and other discards.

Most of the lawmakers are discreetly silent about this critical deluge. But not opponents of the hike. They are making no secret of the undiminished flood of outraged mail. They also are deriving a lot of "I told you so" satisfaction from it.

Graphically illustrative of the quantity

and nature of these caustic blasts are the letters and "bundles" received in the past week by Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa), veteran economy champion who led the floor fight against the pay boost. He made the only motion in the House on which a record vote was taken in an effort to block the increase—which automatically went into effect February 14.

Gross has received some 25 "bundles" from Alabama, California, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas and Virginia. The contents of the derisive "bundles" range from old socks to used underwear, outer clothing and shoes.

Accompanying a "bundle" from Cincinnati was a letter saying, "The enclosed shirt is right off the back of my husband. I am sending it because Congress is sure to get the shirt sooner or later anyway. Perhaps some of your money-grabbing colleagues can use it."

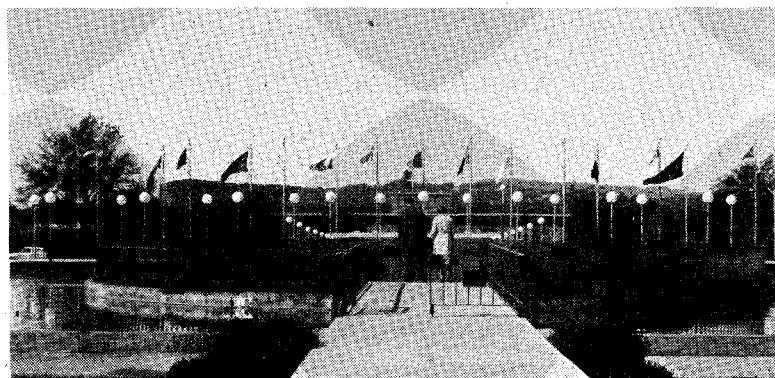
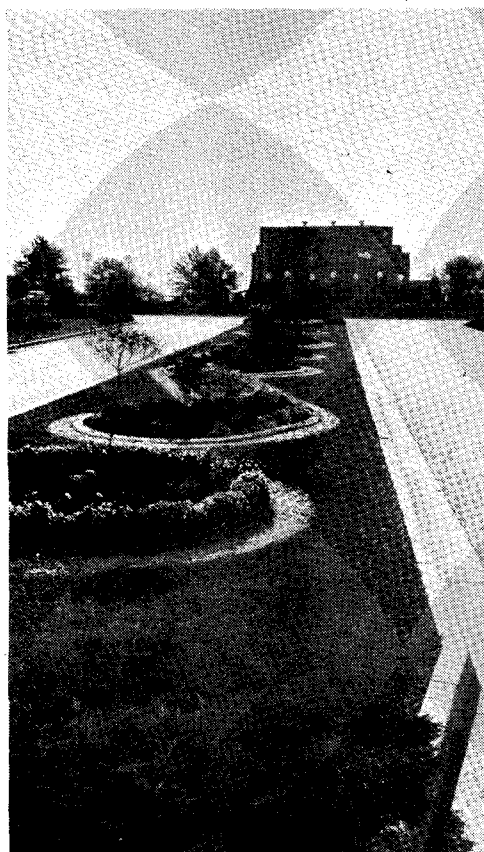
From Artesia, Calif., Gross received the following letter:

"I am deeply distressed by the terrible plight of many of our congressmen and senators who cannot eke out an existence on \$30,000 a year plus generous fringe benefits. I am on Social Security (\$66 a month) and my stipend seems inadequate, too. So I augment it by caring for four children while both parents work to cope with the never-ending inflation, rising welfare costs and increasing taxes.

"However, we are so moved by the hardships of our lawmakers that we wish to send a bundle to them. Please distribute it to the neediest congressmen, but not the beans. The beans are for Senator Dirksen, bless his little heart!

"The shoes are worn, but they are still good enough to give a good boot to your colleagues who voted for this incredible grab, as well as being so generous in doubling the salary of the President to \$200,000."

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they got what they wanted... & lost what they had.

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Soviets Delighted by U.S.-Peru Controversy

JFK Administration's punitive anti-military policy fomented problem

By PAUL BETHEL

The United States and the military junta now ruling Peru appear to be on a collision course. Unless prevented by some unforeseen circumstance, the resulting crash will affect United States relations with our Latin American neighbors as they have not been affected since Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba ten years ago.

The trouble started on October 3 last year, when Peruvian troops overthrew the government and sent liberal President Fernando Belaunde Terry packing into exile. In announcing the coup, the military junta, headed by Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado, cited it as "transcendental, historic, marking the start of the definitive emancipation of our country."

Gen. Velasco quickly demonstrated that his is no ordinary right-wing military government. He voided an agreement made between President Belaunde and the International Petroleum Co. (a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey) and has since opened trade and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and three other Communist nations.

The February 14 firing on a U.S. tuna-fishing vessel by a Peruvian Navy gunboat and the boarding and fining of another American ship have only added further to the tension with the United States.

The immediate cause given by the military for deposing Belaunde was his agreement with IPC which appeared to settle a controversy dating back to 1924, the year that the oil company gained title to the La Brea y Parinas fields. But the present trouble commenced in 1963, when Peru declared that the 1911, 1922 and 1924 treaties and titles in the hands of IPC were null *ipso jure*, meaning that they never existed in a legal sense.

Belaunde's administration held, on the basis of the ruling, that all profits which accrued to IPC (\$140 million) had to be returned to the government, but agreed to waive the "debt" when IPC turned over the oil fields to the government. Implicit in the understanding reached last August was that IPC had acted in good faith in exploiting its title claims.

Though the agreement was painful to the oil company, IPC went along. It did obtain permission to enlarge its refinery at Talara, but received no additional properties or land concessions—only the waiver of the \$140 million.

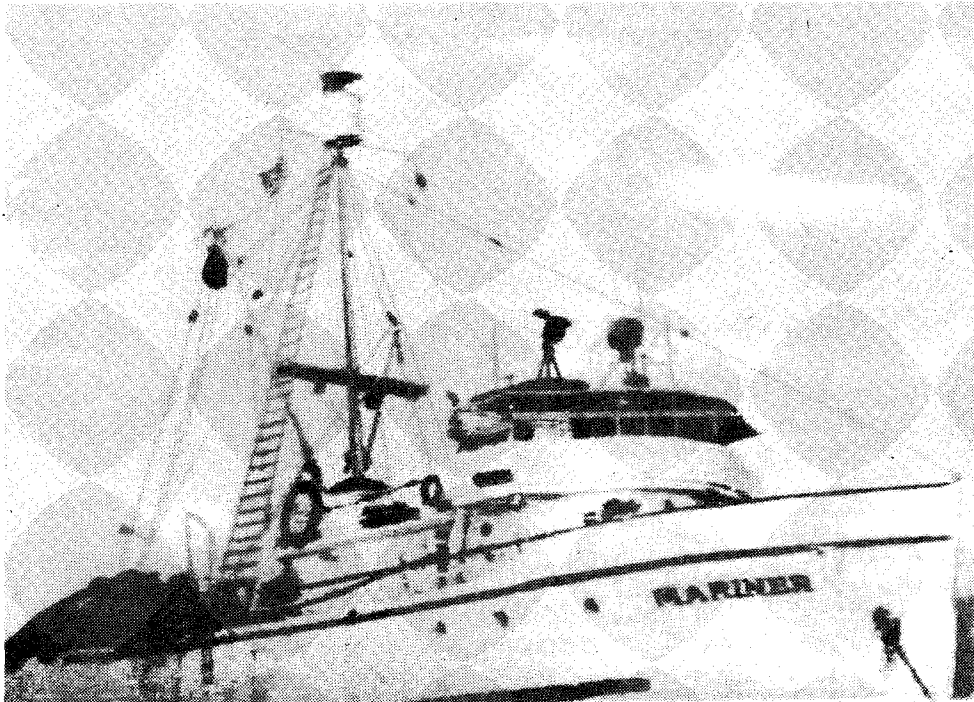
The military junta, upon seizing power, waived nothing. It said that the IPC would be forced to pay the \$140 million and give up its oil fields. Moreover, the junta set an additional "indebtedness" of \$15 million which, it said, the oil company owed for oil and gas distributed through its retail service station outlets in the country. The junta also seized the Cerro de Pasco grazing lands from IPC and said it was initiating an agrarian reform in which those properties would be incorporated.

Optimists pointed out that Peru's Constitution provides that private property may be confiscated by the state but, in its words, only after "prior and fair

compensation." The situation rocked along, with many believing that somehow an agreement would be worked out and the situation returned to normal.

Optimism dimmed when it became apparent that the Communists were supporting the junta's position and became even dimmer when Gen. Velasco recognized the Soviet Union and followed by stating that Peru would purchase rice from Red China.

The real shock came on February 6,



The American tuna boat "Mariner" rides at anchor in the Peruvian port of Talara after its capture by a Peruvian navy gunboat, a seizure that further strained U.S.-Peruvian relations.

when the junta ordered the virtual seizure of all IPC holdings, saying that Peru was owed a whopping \$690.5 million in back taxes, actually the estimated worth of all oil extracted since 1924. The fat was now in the fire.

Finance Minister Gen. Angel Valdivia Morriberon has on several occasions accused the United States government of pressuring Peru to come to a sensible agreement with IPC. On one such occasion, he said that "all of Latin America is watching" the outcome in Peru, as indeed it is.

The feeling now prevalent in Washington is that if the United States backs away from a confrontation not of its own choosing, the shimmering idea that this country is a "paper tiger" (witness Fidel Castro's expropriation of nearly \$2 billion in U.S. investments) will become a conviction.

In Latin America there is a definite tendency to compare Peru's present course with that of Cuba in 1960, when Fidel Castro established diplomatic relations with countries of the Soviet bloc and stepped up the systematic seizure of U.S.-owned properties. Neither Fidel Castro nor Gen. Velasco took notice of the benefits which accrued to both countries through foreign investments.

In Washington there is fear that Peru's example, if unchallenged, may spread to other oil-producing countries—chiefly, Colombia and Venezuela.

The Peruvian junta has placed a valuation on the Talara refinery of only \$54 million, while IPC says that the refinery complex is worth around \$100 million. It is pertinent to note here that President Carlos Lleras Restrepo of Colombia has refused to abide by an arbitration court's decision regarding proper compensation for power facilities which he wants to take over and, as in

Peru, is offering only about half the true valuation of those facilities. So what happens in Peru definitely will affect what happens in other nations south of our borders.

It was precisely this fear, based partially on Castro's seizure of U.S. investments, that led then Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper to amend the foreign aid laws. Under the "Hickenlooper Amendment" now on the books, all U.S. aid to a foreign country that expropriates

property of a U.S. citizen or corporation will automatically cease within six months if that country has not paid for the expropriated properties or started "meaningful negotiations" within that period.

But the military junta, calling the amendment a bit of U.S. jingoism and "an inadmissible, imperialistic menace that would injure Peru's sovereignty," has gained a surprising amount of widespread popular support for its position. The junta has, furthermore, called upon other Latin American countries to support Peru in its dispute with the United States. This, like other junta demagogery, has a familiar Castro-like ring to it.

However that may be, Peru's finance minister has repeatedly accused the United States of threatening to withdraw various forms of aid in order to force the junta to negotiate with IPC. He stated that a \$75-million stand-by credit was being withdrawn and that other lending agencies, such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, had threatened to dry up their flow of money into Peru.

More immediately important to Peru's economy, however, is this: The Hickenlooper Amendment would cut off the sale of Peru's sugar to the United States, sales that last year brought Peru \$45 million above the world market price.

Finance Minister Valdivia Morriberon made one remark which may provide a clue to the otherwise inexplicable behavior of the junta. In discussing the threatened cut-off of U.S. aid, the general pooh-pooed its importance, remarking bitterly: "What U.S. aid we did get—I don't know the exact figures—has been reduced to almost nothing anyway." Behind this remark is a deep-

seated hatred for one aspect of U.S. policy—the American attitude toward Latin American military establishments.

On July 18, 1962, Peru's military kicked out President Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, alleging that he had failed to protect the country against "a vast Communist plot aimed at taking control of Peru." The military leaders even went so far as to advise U.S. Ambassador James Loeb of the Communist plot and of their "reluctant decision" to deal with it the best way they knew how.

The junta also did things that no other military junta had done before in Latin America. It set a firm date for constitutional elections; permitted an opposition press to criticize; maintained individual civil liberties; refrained from arresting or executing political opponents. The military believed it had acted in the best interest of the nation, pointed to its record and expected to receive some understanding from the United States for its position.

Instead, Ambassador Loeb was recalled to Washington and the White House issued what it characterized as "an unusual and stern statement" in which all United States aid to Peru was suspended. Peru's military was astounded and embittered by U.S. reaction. As a State Department official recently remarked, the move was "the biggest diplomatic blunder ever made by the Kennedy Administration."

In the official's view, the United States should have kept quiet so as to push other military regimes along the road to moderation. Especially encouraging was the promise (which was kept) to return the country to civilian control through free elections and to respect the rights of the individual during the transition period—a giant step away from traditional right-wing military rule and toward liberalization of the military.

There is more. Until recently, the United States refused to sell the Northrop F-5 military jet aircraft to Latin American nations. The F-5 is particularly suited for jungle and high altitude operations, can cruise at low speeds for surveillance of guerrilla operations and also hit the speed of sound. The rationale for refusal to sell the U.S. aircraft was that Peru's money would be better spent on social and economic programs. In the words of one "Great Society" expert, "social progress is the best defense against guerrillas."

The State Department did not (and perhaps does not today) take seriously "Che" Guevara's vow to explode "one, two or more Viet Nams in Latin America." Venezuela, Chile, Brazil and Peru took it seriously, however, and turned to West Germany, England and France for their military aircraft. Because of a clause in U.S. foreign aid legislation, countries that buy what Congress considers to be "advanced military equipment" stand to be penalized. When Peru purchased 12 Mirage V fighter-bombers from France, development funds were cancelled in an amount equal to the purchase and the Peruvians were furious.

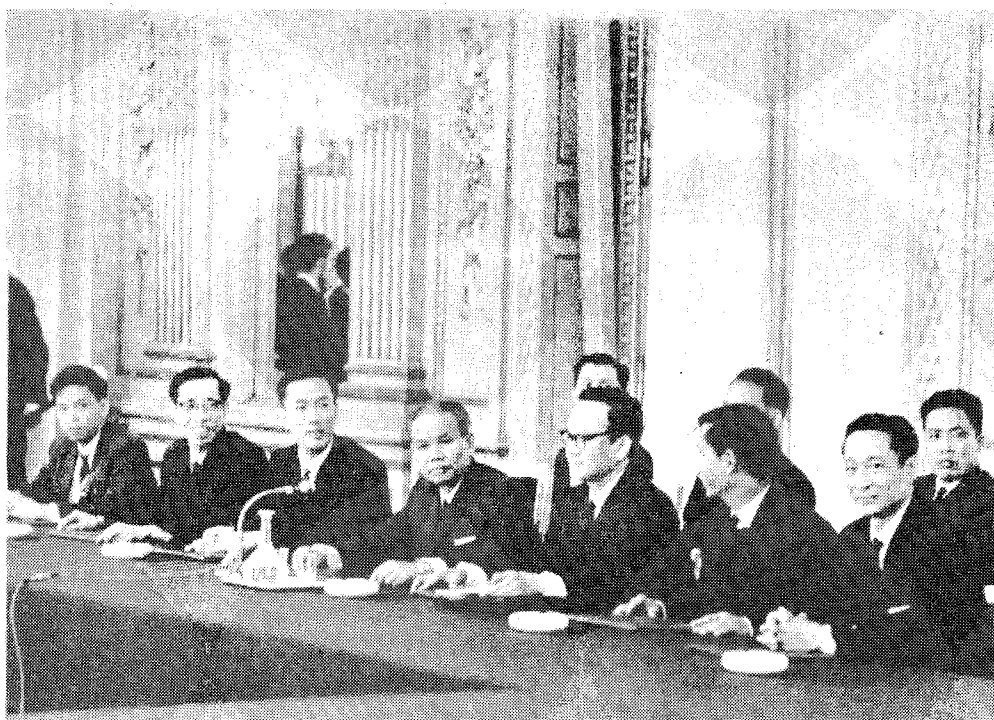
What part this history of intervening, in effect, in the sensitive area of national defense, has had in the anti-American lurch of Peru's military junta is difficult to judge. But it is something for Congress and the Nixon Administration to think about, particularly in Brazil, Argentina and elsewhere where, unhappily, the role of the military in govern-

Continued on page 15

Mr. Bethel is executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and editor of the authoritative "Latin America Report." A former member of the U.S. foreign service, he has kept up his many contacts in the Latin American diplomatic corps.



Adm. Turner Joy is saluted by an Army MP as he prepares to enter the truce tent at Panmunjom in 1952. The U.S. experience in negotiating with Communists in Korea should serve as an object lesson to those liberals who misunderstand the Communist bartering technique.



Sixteen years later, the North Vietnamese delegation grins at the camera during a lull in the Paris talks, which have in over half a year produced no worthwhile results toward ending the war. In the center is delegation head Xuan Thuy, who has in his public pronouncements said little to encourage hopes for real talks.

Who Really Obstructs Talks?

Panmunjom's Lessons for U.S. Team in Paris

By FREDERIC NELSON

It is usually painful to old men that they forget, but there are occasions when some of them find it equally agonizing to remember. Were I, for example, as young as columnist Clayton Fritchey, I might have accepted with equanimity the extraordinary statement in his column (Dec. 16, 1968) that it was "the dictatorial leader of South Korea, Syngman Rhee, [who] threw monkey wrenches into the peace negotiations at Panmunjom" in 1953. Unfortunately for my peace of mind, I remember something about the sessions at Panmunjom which Mr. Fritchey, in his eagerness to score off another set of "dictatorial leaders," appears to have forgotten.

The peace talks which Dr. Rhee is posthumously accused of disrupting, had been in progress—if that is just the phrase to describe those fantastic goings-on—for two years before Rhee is supposed to have disrupted them.

Adm. Turner Joy, Mr. Arthur Dean and others who have been bloodied in run-arounds with the Communists, have described what such affairs were like. In the summer of 1953, after two years of Red stalling, obscene abuse and pointless oratory, the United Nations came up with armistice terms which were supposed to be fair. However, the late William Bullitt, in the September 1953 issue of *Reader's Digest*, declared that the U.N. proposal meant that "more than a million Chinese Communist troops would be permitted to remain in complete control of North Korea . . . waiting only to pounce again on the Republic of Korea." Every sort of pressure was put on Syngman Rhee to compel his submission to these terms, but he held out.

Korean Prisoner Issue

The U.N. terms also included a complicated scheme for screening prisoners of war in Allied hands, to determine which ones wanted to remain in South Korea and which preferred to return to China or Communist-controlled North Korea. Investigators from India and other not exactly anti-Communist countries were supposed to decide which prisoners were telling the truth when they opted to return to North Korea.

Dr. Rhee, knowing what Communists do to returned prisoners and not trusting the U.N. investigators to know as much about this as he did, settled the matter by turning loose in South Korea such North Korean soldiers as wanted to remain there.

His impatience is understandable in view of the fact that the prisoner issue had been kicked around for more than a year—the stumbling block being Communist insistence that North Korean prisoners in South Korean camps should be sent back to North Korea whether they wanted to go or not. Already thousands, dreading forcible repatriation, had managed to escape from Allied custody, often after violent encounters with Red fellow prisoners.

Rhee's 'Treachery'

The U.N. proposal, while reiterating the Allied stand against involuntary repatriation, included terms which Rhee believed weakened the guarantee. His emphatic response to the U.N. shuffle ought not to have surprised anybody.

Nevertheless the release of these unfortunate prisoners brought on a frightful hubbub. Even Winston Churchill, who would undoubtedly have done the same thing in Rhee's place, denounced the Korean leader as "treacherous." Canada's Lester Pearson added a mournful rebuke, and the American column industry was aflame. The treachery, of course, was against the United Nations of which we knew less in 1953 than we do now.

A lonely defender of Rhee's stand was David Lawrence who, in *U.S. News & World Report* for July 1953 declared that the United Nations was dead, "killed by the Korean War," because it had decreed that South Korea must "keep its own brothers in bondage while the Communists were to send in their agents to brainwash those same prisoners—all under the auspices of a commission of five countries, with the deciding vote held by a pro-Communist government, calling itself 'neutral.' . . ." Was it so ignoble on the part of Korea—not even a U.N. member—to assert its sovereign power as an ally to act against such palpable treachery?

After the fulminations had subsided

President Eisenhower sent Associate Secretary of State Walter Robinson, a wise man and a competent diagnostician of Communist practice, to patch things up with Rhee. The alleged obstruction hardly lasted a month, but the Communist obstruction, already two years old then, continued to drag its slow length along, and no solid settlement has been arrived at yet.

Of course the Fritchey purpose in this bizarre "revisionist" reference to Syngman Rhee's recalcitrance 15 years ago was to tag the South Vietnamese leadership with the same charge of obstruction at Paris.

Mr. Fritchey has important allies. Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford sought to attribute the delays in Paris to "squabbling" by the South Vietnamese over "procedural arrangements" and Sen. George McGovern wanted to know why a "little tinpot dictator" like Vice President Ky was permitted to "haggle over whether he is going to sit at a round table or a rectangular table."

Plainly, politicians who know so little about Communist tactics as these well-meaning critics do, should take a brief refresher course on the subject.

The "procedural question," which too many newspaper correspondents have kissed off as a squabble about the shape of tables, is central to the whole question: Do we recognize the murderous National Liberation Front as an equal partner in the negotiations, or don't we?

The Communists rightly believe that, once they have fooled us into accepting a seating arrangement which admits the NFL on equal terms with Saigon, Hanoi and the U.S.A., they will be in a strong position, having forced the United States to retreat from its frequently stated stand against such recognition.

What seems a trivial detail to us is a matter of vital concern to Communists, a propaganda point with which they can bedevil us for years. Not even a democratic, non-dictatorial, silver-teapot leader of South Viet Nam could afford to yield on so vital a point.

To another liberal columnist, Joseph Kraft, even Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, whom Mr. Nixon has asked to stay on, is too bloodthirsty to be ex-

pected to make a "fresh approach" to peace in Viet Nam. Bunker, to the surprise of some "hawks," is represented as believing that "the military effort against the Communists is gaining strength and ought not to be cut short by a rush to the negotiating table." This, Kraft seems to think, is bad. An ambassador so dim-witted as to oppose surrender when you're ahead can be counted on to "hold the fort in the most vigorous way against the moves required to get on with a settlement."

What moves are required to make a possible winner act like a sure loser is not stated. (Eugene McCarthy, sullenly casting your vote in the Senate for the forces of darkness and against the forces of light, how your counsel is missed at this hour!)

Anyway we should be grateful for Mr. Kraft's failure to dispute Mr. Bunker's supposed belief that the "military effort against the Communists is gaining strength." To all liberal columnists except Joe Alsop, and Marguerite Higgins who is dead, lack of faith in American defeat in Viet Nam is the ultimate heresy.

Nixon's Paris Appointments

Mr. Nixon has been wisely economical with expressions of opinion about a settlement of the Viet Nam war. However, his appointment of Henry Cabot Lodge to succeed Averell Harriman in Paris apparently cheers the South Vietnamese politicians despite the mysterious Lodge behavior before the coup which resulted in the assassination of President Diem. The appointment of Robert Murphy as an adviser on foreign policy also suggests understanding of the Communist problem, although, strangely enough, it irks both Mr. Kraft and Robert Welch of the John Birch Society.

Anyway, if by some lucky chance the Nixon policy re Viet Nam should turn out to be not only "hard" but successful, a spate of liberal critics from Halberstam to Kraft, Fulbright, Fritchey, McGovern and maybe even McCarthy might find themselves questioning their own omniscience—strictly in private, of course.

Should Washington Pay All Welfare Costs?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York, who has Harlem on his mind because of the instant relief which New York City offers to any poverty-stricken migrant, has asked the federal government to take over the costs of welfare throughout the entire nation. This, according to the governor, might persuade some indigent people to stay home in Mississippi, where the weather is warm, thus relieving the pressure on the housing market in the already jam-packed slums of the greater New York City area.

One can sympathize with Rocky's exasperation, for when individual relief payments under the Aid to Dependent Children program run to \$50.83 a month in New York as compared, for example, to Mississippi's \$7.90, it is obvious that most of the poorer Ne-

groes in the South will be hitting the trail to Northern ghettos before they are dead.

Even so, if the poor everywhere are to be underwritten on a New York basis, the impact on U.S. fiscal policies could be staggering. Besides, much of the crowding in Harlem, Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant, and other New York slums may be traced to the policy of not tying relief payments to a stated period of residency, say for one year.

Mayor Lindsay of New York City has rejected a residency requirement as just another example of the sort of nonsense spouted by Bill Buckley, his conservative opponent in the last mayoralty campaign. The mayor has indi-

cated he wouldn't want to be responsible for migrants falling dead from hunger in New York streets. But if one were to be warned of possible starvation during one's first year in New York, one would hardly go there in the first place without a merchandisable skill or at least some visible means of support.

If the federal government is to pick up the tab on a nationwide basis to compensate for the failure of Northern communities to establish relief residency requirements, it will be one more nail—and perhaps the final one—in the coffin of the old Brandeis-Frankfurter liberal theory that the states are the natural laboratories for social experiment. With the federal government taking over total responsibility for the poor, why should any individual state tax its citizens to

improve the probabilities for employment within its own boundaries?

South Carolina, for example, is currently trying to build big payrolls by its program for training good workmen for new factories established by incoming industrialists seeking a Southern base. This is South Carolina's answer, an effective one even though it is indirect, to those who have recently criticized that state for permitting widespread malnutrition among its poor. If it were Washington's responsibility to see that no one starved in South Carolina, how many would sign up for



Despite the bulging New York City welfare rolls, Mayor John Lindsay has abolished residency requirements.

the state's training courses? We'd have the Federal Leviathan that our old-fashioned liberals, including Brandeis and Frankfurter, have always feared.

A proposal made by a Pennsylvanian, Henry B. Reiley Jr., publisher of the Somerset *Daily American*, might relieve Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of his dilemma if the legislatures of our 50 states were willing to cooperate to end the tensions caused by migrations.

Mr. Reiley suggests that if the states which poor people now leave would only assume responsibility for relief payments in much the same manner in which unemployment compensation now works, sending on the payments for a year to a migrant at his new out-of-state address, the tendency would be to discourage the exodus of unemployed blacks to the Northern slums. It would be tough to live for a year on Mississippi rates in Harlem.

Our governors are forever meeting in conference in plushy places such as Palm Springs, Calif., or Miami Beach, Fla. Instead of trying to foist their problems on the federal government, maybe they should discuss such things as Mr. Reiley's idea of basing a migrant's welfare payments for the first year on the rate established in the state which the man has just left. If welfare check reciprocity between states proves impractical, Gov. Rockefeller's New York might react by limiting its first-year relief payments to the sum allowed in the state where the recipient was last domiciled.

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Senator Strom Thurmond

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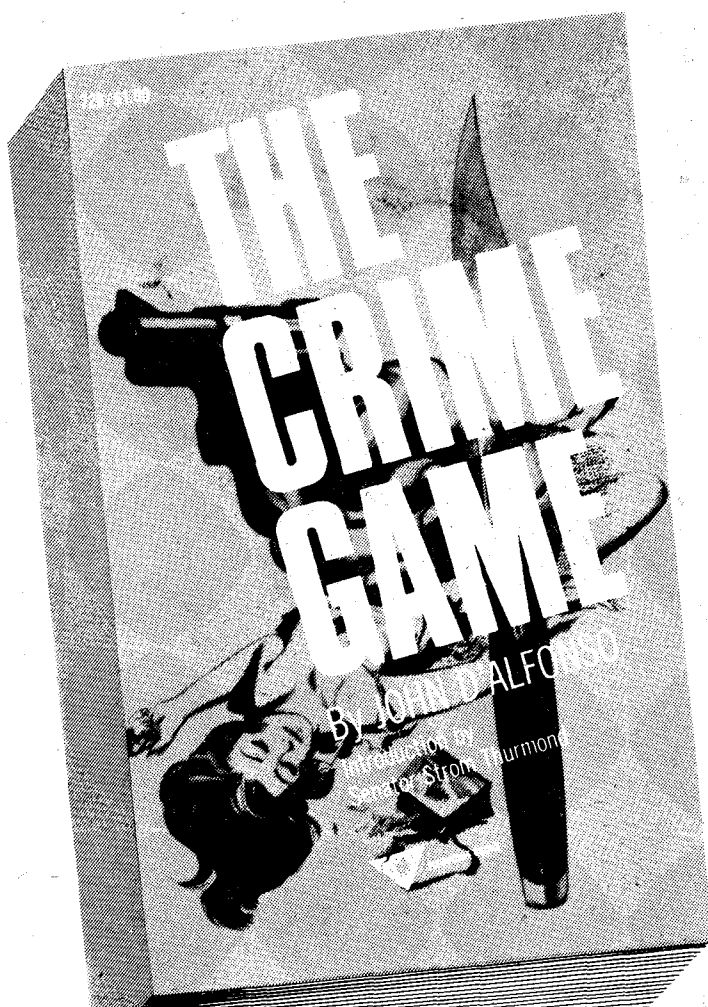
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ANOTHER NEW VIEWPOINT BOOK

East Germany Not Satellite, But Occupied Country

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The East Germany that is making noises again about West Berlin, and may try to make trouble for President Richard M. Nixon when he gets there on February 27, is not a satellite country. It is an occupied country. The voice—and all actions—are totally Moscow's.

There is a uniformed Soviet commandant and his administrative staff on duty in every East German center and in more than 100 communities right down to the grass roots.

More than 300,000 Russian troops are stationed in East Germany. These comprise 14 fully mechanized divisions with their platoons of tanks. Since the Soviet reconquest of Czechoslovakia, which was, behind the scenes, really a redeployment of the Soviet forces in Western Europe, these 300,000 are likewise supported by the Soviet divisions in Czechoslovakia. It is the Kremlin's westernmost force, its vanguard standing 93 miles from the Rhine.

About 42,500 Russian Army soldiers ring Berlin. This involves the matter of the walls—for, perhaps unrealized by us, there are two, not one.

The Berlin area (East and West) is so immense that Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich combined would fit into it. East Berlin alone covers 153 square miles. *Insulaner* (islander) is the West Berliners' name for themselves. About 700,000 of West Berlin's population have relatives in East Berlin. There are 1.1 million residents. In German *standesgemass* means "in accord with status." The East Berliners have nothing, and they have no true status.

On Sunday, Aug. 13, 1961, communism put up the Berlin Wall. Three million people had fled west. East Germany is the only country in Europe, and probably in the entire world, which has a smaller population today than in 1945.

The first wall, an electrically charged barbed-wire barricade 95 miles long, circles the city. The 1961 wall, which divides the city, runs a solid 10 miles. About 700,000 East German workers are diverted to keep the two walls constantly under repair. In addition, the manpower of 50,000 East Berlin police, a guard which alone is about twice the size of the entire New York City police force for eight million people, is needed to guard and patrol the wall.



Potsdamer Platz, the heart of pre-war Berlin, is cut in half by the Wall. The one-time fourth largest city in the world is surrounded by over 20 Russian divisions in addition to the East German forces.

The Soviet troops are commanded by a four-star general from an immense (former Nazi) headquarters at Wurmsdorf, 30 miles from Potsdam, East Germany. So is the Soviet Air Force.

Soviet officer defections in East Germany are rare. But in the ranks, where Soviet Communist party membership runs less than 10 per cent and with a Communist lieutenant being paid 100 times as much as an ordinary Red Army soldier, an average 3,000 Russian soldiers are defecting to the West each year.

Violating the Potsdam Agreement only three months after it was signed, the Kremlin has constantly built the so-called National People's Army. About 93 per cent of its officers today are Communist party members. It comprises more than 1.4 million men—200,000 permanent; 450,000 active reservists; 320,000 in the special *Kampfgruppen*, or "battle groups," of the Communist party, a paramilitary force of armed workers; and 450,000 more in youth leagues.

The German commander has been made a Soviet citizen, with a Soviet general's rank, as controlled beyond himself as a puppet glove. Gen. Wil-

helm Adam, aide to Nazi Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus, who was captured at Stalingrad and then espoused the Communist cause, commands the NPA War Academy, which is in Dresden and is fashioned on the Hitler general staff pattern.

In fact, there are an estimated 400 hard-core ex-Nazis in the army high command and East German government. These include Gen. Willi Stoph, the prime minister, no less.



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The Kremlin has followed the same pattern with the East German *Staatssicherheitsdienst* (STB) secret police. In January 1945, shortly before the German collapse, part of the Nazi SS and Gestapo headquarters moved from Berlin to Salzburg. It was scattered through Austria's Styrian lakes area of the Tyrolean *Salzkammergut* region. The Russians seized most of the Nazi intelligence records and recruited these agents wholesale into the STB.

Those in charge of our intelligence in Berlin tell me there are an incredible 12,000 Iron Curtain agents in West Berlin alone. They practice the technique called *uberschwehmung*, or inundation. If one Red agent is caught or disappears, the Kremlin replaces him with four or five more.

The East German government facade—constructed to confuse us—is sheer nonsense.

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STUDENT 'GRATITUDE'—"California's Gov. Ronald Reagan recently wound up and let fly at rioting students who have been tearing apart several college campuses in the Golden State. They are, he said, 'bearded, barefoot, ungrateful, draft-dodging, rebellious, pot-blowing, radical revolutionaries who are dismantling our educational institutions stone by stone and throwing them at the white, Fascist, honkie pig cops as a token of their gratitude for our being taxed into oblivion to pay for their escapades.'"—From the *Richmond News Leader*

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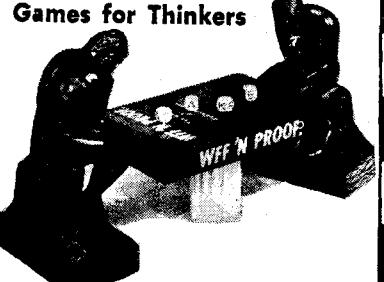
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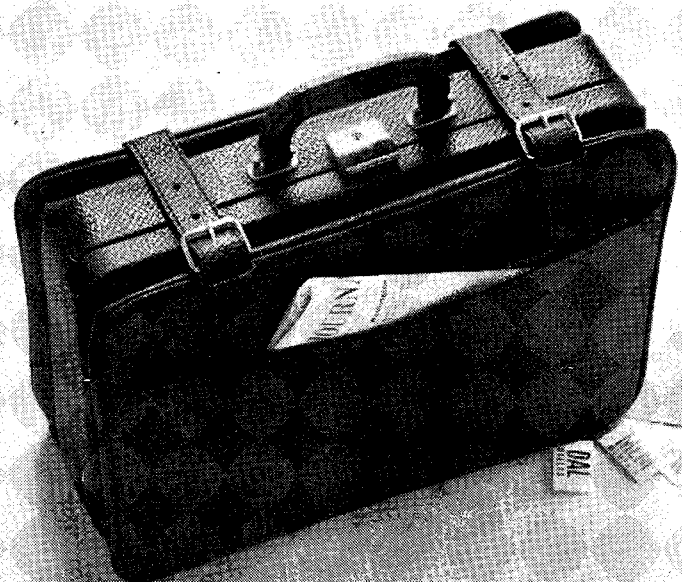


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One Crime Remedy: Preventive Detention

From the Washington Evening Star

The evidence which has been built up over the past several months makes an overwhelming case for preventive detention—giving federal judges discretionary authority to keep dangerous criminals off the street.

President Nixon called for this in his recent crime message, pointing out that many persons are now being arrested "two, three, even seven times" while free on bond and awaiting trial. Legislation to modify the "bail reform" act of 1966 has been offered in the House and the Senate. Many witnesses appearing in recent days before Sen. Ervin's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights have stressed the urgent need for prompt and effective action in this area.

This view, of course, is not shared by everyone. There are some who say it would be unconstitutional to deny bail to an accused criminal between the time of his arrest or indictment and his trial. Others complain that such a practice would run counter to our traditional presumption of innocence. Their arguments, we think, are flimsy.

What the controversy really comes down to is whether law-abiding citizens are entitled to the maximum protection against crime and criminals which Congress can give them. Of course they are.

No one pretends that preventive detention is the whole answer to the crime problem. Obviously it is not. But it is part of the answer. Nor should anyone suppose that an equitable formula for denial of bail in the public interest will be easy to devise. The criteria by which a judge would determine whether a particular suspect should be denied bail on the ground that his release would endanger the public will be difficult to establish. But they can be established. It will also be necessary to fix a time period, perhaps 60 days, in which an accused man must be brought to trial or released unless excessive delay in trial resulted from dilatory motions filed in his behalf. Perhaps there should be provision for an immediate appeal from denial of bail.

Thought should be given to granting money compensation to a person held without bail and subsequently found not guilty. Other difficulties will suggest themselves. But the solutions can—and must—be found.

The argument that denial of bail would be unconstitutional is based on the Eighth Amendment, which forbids "excessive" bail or fines, and "cruel and unusual punishments." But as Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W. Va.) pointed out in his excellent statement to the Ervin subcommittee, the very same Congress which promulgated the Eighth Amendment in 1789 also enacted in that year a law regulating bail. That law stipulated that bail "shall" be granted in criminal cases "except where the punishment may be death." In a death-penalty case the statute reserved the decision on granting bail to the discretion of a judge.

Sen. Byrd went on to point out, however, that in 1789, when this first bail statute was adopted, "practically all of the more serious crimes carried the death penalty." In this category of crimes, for which there was no right to bail, were such offenses as murder, robbery, stealing a ship or even counterfeiting a United States security.

Where in all this can one find support for the argument that the Constitution requires that bail be granted? Did the Congress of 1789, which promulgated the Eighth Amendment and



Courtesy Washington Evening Star

also the Fifth Amendment, which is sometimes cited, not understand what it was doing when in the same year it passed the bail statute?

It may be worth noting that the Supreme Court, in 1952, said this: "The Eighth Amendment has not prevented Congress from defining the classes of cases in which bail shall be allowed in this country. Thus, in criminal cases bail is not compulsory where the punishment may be death."

It is true that Congress in 1892, a century after the first bail act, revised the law to substantially reduce the number of offenses for which the death penalty could be imposed. It is also true that the 1892 Congress, whether from oversight or for whatever reason, did not simultaneously change the bail act.

But what are the sensible conclusions to be drawn from this? If it wanted to do so in order to deny bail, Congress could reinstate the death penalty for robbery or counterfeiting. Surely no one in his right mind would advocate this. And there is no need to do so. For it is quite clear, or so it seems to us, that this matter of a "right" to bail is not a constitutional question, but rather one of statutory law.

Congress has always had and still has the authority to prescribe the circumstances under which bail may or may not be granted. If this is not correct, then it is unconstitutional to deny bail in a first-degree murder case. Very few people would argue that this is so.

What about the presumption of innocence? This is fundamental in our system of justice. But it is not a constitutional doctrine. It is, in essence, a rule of evidence which becomes operative at the time of trial. To some degree denial of bail may be said to collide with this presumption. But the same collision is there in the denial of bail

in murder cases, for in a murder case the presumption of innocence also prevails.

Is there a need in this capital city, not to mention other federal jurisdictions, for preventive detention? The need, we think, is especially imperative here, where all violent crimes are covered by federal law—a situation which does not prevail in the states.

Generally speaking, judges under the 1966 bail act can consider but two things in deciding whether to grant or refuse bail. One has to do with the suspect's community ties. The other is whether he can be expected to show up for his trial.

How has this worked in practice? A *Star* study of 67 arrests made for robberies of financial institutions last year showed that 22 percent of these suspects were out on bail when captured. But this does not give the full

picture. Many such robberies last year did not result in arrests, and an unknown number of those robbers may also have been out on bail.

Let's take the case of Larry Duke Perkins. A police study in fiscal 1967 showed that Perkins was arrested four times that year for robbery or attempted robbery, and released each time on bail. When money bail was required his mother mortgaged her home to raise the cash. In October of last year 46 members of two grand juries who had heard more than 500 cases issued a strong appeal for revision of the 1966 bail act. These grand jurors, 36 of whom were black, said they were "shocked day after day" to hear cases in which dangerous criminals were free on bond.

Eddie M. Harrison's case illustrates the point. After his fourth conviction for first-degree murder he was released by order of a panel of the Court of Appeals on personal bond, which means no actual bond, pending his fourth appeal.

One could go on and on—an increase in robberies for example, of 207 per cent in the 2½-year period from fiscal 1966 to calendar 1968. This appalling increase in crime, much of it due to heroin addicts walking the streets when they should be in jail or confined for treatment, is intolerable. Revision of the bail act to permit judges to detain suspects who, on their past records, would be a menace to the community if released, would not be a cure-all. But it would help—and this city needs all the help it can get. We hope Congress will act on this matter this year, and let the Supreme Court settle the constitutional question—if there really is one.

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People unable to express themselves effectively often lose many business and social opportunities. Others who use their vocabulary improperly, subject themselves to ridicule and cause others to misunderstand what they mean.

We need a good vocabulary, says the publisher, to understand more clearly what we read and hear, to think with greater clarity and logic, and to express ourselves more effectively when we speak or write. A command of words instills confidence in one's ability to speak convincingly and impress others with one's knowledge and understanding.

To acquaint the readers of this publication with the easy-to-follow rules for developing a large vocabulary, the publishers have printed full details of their interesting self-training method in a new booklet, "Adventures in Vocabulary," which will be mailed free to anyone who requests it. No obligation. Send your name, address, and zip code to: Vocabulary Studies, 835 Diversey Parkway, Dept. 531-012, Chicago, Ill. 60614. A postcard will do.

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Although Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau has been acclaimed by liberals as a "swinging" chief of state, his pro-leftist policies are creating problems for U.S.-Canadian relationships.

Flirts With Mao

Trudeau Losing U.S. Friendship

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Prime Minister Trudeau seems determined to widen the growing gulf between Canada and the United States.

His effort to restore diplomatic relations with Peking could hardly have come at a worse moment.

President Nixon, despite his somewhat naive talk of cooperating for peace with the Soviet Union, has made it clear that he sticks to his four predecessors' policy of boycotting Red China until such time as that country either produces a less offensive government or, under its present rulers, decides to conform to civilized norms.

Despite a willingness to resume unofficial talks with the United States at Warsaw, Red China's governing gang has never tried harder to stir up trouble in Laos, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, Malaysia and even India.

Yet this is the moment when "Devil-may-care" Trudeau chooses to restore diplomatic relations with Peking.

This may fit his previous flirtation with communism (which Canadian voters considered unimportant), but it goes against what was once the fixed policy of his Liberal party.

As far back as 1955, speaking before the Canadian Club in Montreal on the eve of a visit to Ottawa by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Canada's then foreign minister, Lester Pearson, stated flatly that there could be no Canadian neutrality when the United States was at war!

At the time, this made quite a sensation, for since 1945 Canada had tried to follow the British policy of neutrality in the Cold War in harmony with the post-war appeasement policy of the British Labour government and even, to some extent, of Winston Churchill when he returned to power in 1951.

Dulles and Britain's leader, Anthony Eden, successively foreign and prime minister, were finding it increasingly difficult to cooperate, as the Suez crisis of 1956 so sharply revealed.

But if Britain could afford to go its own way apart from both Continental Europe and the United States (it could not, as later circumstances revealed), Canadians like Pearson realized that their country could not.

Only after President Kennedy, while involving the United States in what became the Viet Nam war, revealed his own search for "understanding" with both Moscow

and Peking, could Canada safely remain aloof as it has done. Neither Kennedy nor Johnson would admit that the United States was really at war.

Now, however, Prime Minister Trudeau has apparently found it opportune to tighten Canada's link with the country without whose political support and military aid North Vietnamese aggression would collapse in three months.

Whether or not he will regret this depends upon President Nixon. So far American spokesmen have merely warned him that its recognition of the tottering Maoist regime could hurt our ally Chiang Kai-shek. But if after Canada's recognition Mao still refuses to permit Ho to recognize the full independence of non-Communist South Viet Nam and President Nixon decides to take the wraps off South Viet Nam (and perhaps off Taiwan as well), both he and the American people are going to feel increasingly resentful of a neighboring friendly country which depends upon the United States for military protection and rapid economic progress, while sheltering U.S. deserters. At a given point such resentment could take the form of anti-Canadian diplomatic action.

I wonder if this is what the Canadian people really want.

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□ □ □

BEATING THE SYSTEM—"Congressman H. R. Gross of Iowa reports that 12 enterprising young persons in Montgomery County, Md., have figured out a way to beat the system. Each of the dozen, six male and six female, draws \$55 a week in unemployment compensation which they pool in a common kitty. In a four-week month, their take exceeds \$2,600. They rent a six-bedroom house, complete with swimming pool and sauna bath, buy their food, and have enough left for a few other luxuries. Of course they pay no taxes on their unemployment benefits, and, on an individual basis, each probably qualifies for food stamps and Medicaid benefits as well. Whatever else may be said in criticism of young people these days, certainly no one can accuse them of being dumb."—From the Richmond News Leader

A Flat Tax Rate for All?

By PAUL HARVEY

If they "simplify" our income tax system once more, nobody will be able to figure it out!

The Nixon Administration is asking Congress to shrink loopholes while it (the Administration) begins a critical review of our entire tax system. Treasury Secretary David Kennedy promises "a careful and searching re-examination" before recommending reforms.

Known to be under consideration are tighter rules on stock options, adjustment of capital gains taxes, taxes on municipal bonds and reduced depletion allowances.

Please! Piecemeal modification of our fantastically complicated tax structure can only complicate it further. As is, stenographers and clerks are having to hire accountants to compute how much they owe each year. This is an inexcusable imposition. Further, our present system of taxpayer scrutiny—you're guilty until you prove yourself innocent—directly contradicts important fundamentals of our Americanism.

The least complex and the most just system is a flat tax rate for everybody.

Business expenses notwithstanding, the law could simply say that you pay X per cent on your gross income. Perhaps it could be graduated to a reasonable maximum but then no deductions, no differential based on source of income; nobody would benefit merely because he is able to employ the most clever tax accountants.

I'm aware this would displace a lot of lawyers and accountants and would reduce the payroll of the Internal Revenue Service by 70 per cent, but those displaced are men whose talents are in demand elsewhere.

Do you realize that every commissioner of internal revenue back through and including T. Coleman Andrews,

after he was out of office, has complained about the unfairness and unnecessary complexity of our tax laws?

Commissioners Andrews, Harrington, Latham and Caplin got so smart after a few years of trying to administer tax laws that it's a shame we could not have had the benefit of their counsel sooner.

Why not now?

Suppose President Nixon were to appoint the available ex-commissioners to an advisory committee. From their great depth of practical experience, perhaps these men could devise a truly simplified tax system.

Example: After he was out of office, T. Coleman Andrews said, "The progressive income tax should be abolished."

After he was out of office, Mortimer Caplin said, "There is no excuse for regulations which most taxpayers can't even understand."

He favors a tax range of 10 to 50 per cent with no deductions for anybody for anything.

After he was out of office, each commissioner has urged drastic reforms aimed at simplification.

Former Treasury Secretary Joseph Barr says the \$7,000 to \$20,000-income families are paying more than half of all income taxes and "these middle-income taxpayers are likely to revolt unless we reform the income tax system." Let's do.

And let's begin with the premise that these former IRS commissioners, better than anybody, know how.

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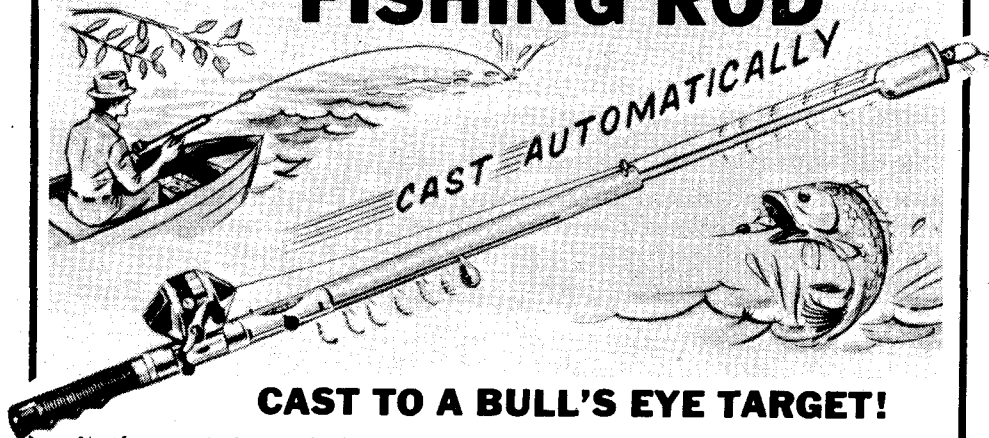
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To the Left of the Professors

From the Chicago Tribune

The faculty reviewing committee which decided that Assistant Prof. Marlene Dixon was unworthy of reappointment in the field of sociology at the University of Chicago took considerable pains to emphasize its objectivity and broad-mindedness. The decision, it said, had nothing to do with the fact that Mrs. Dixon was admittedly a radical activist.

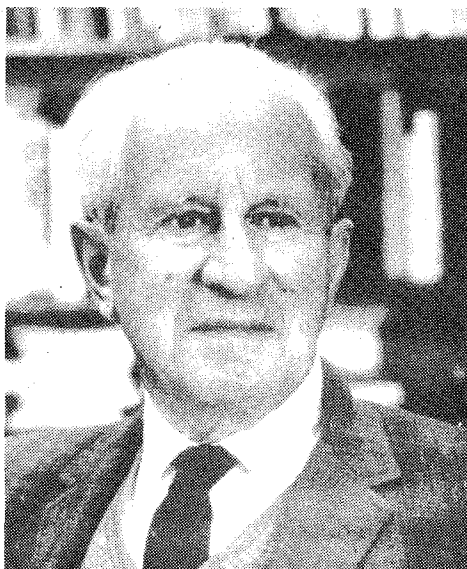
The committee said that two members of the sociology faculty had identified themselves as radicals, but the university was so free of prejudice that one of them had already been reappointed for a three-year term. It said that "a number of prominent European Marxian sociologists" had been hospitably received as visiting lecturers and that this was further evidence that the university does not discriminate simply because somebody adheres to the Communist superstition.

Conceding that Mrs. Dixon had "a prominent role among young insurgents," the committee nevertheless felt that "political tests" were out of place in the academic community. Mrs. Dixon's association with the insurgents is attested by the fact that her failure of reappointment to a second three-year faculty term was seized upon as the pretext for a student sit-in at the administration building and an attempt to prevent orderly classroom work from proceeding.

Outside of the committee's genuflections to "liberal" and radical totems, the university faculty has been singularly passive in the face of student insurrection. Some of the younger members of the faculty and graduate students in the social sciences have been sympathetic to Mrs. Dixon and the rebels.

The only outspoken denunciation of the occupation has come from Dr. Charles B. Huggins, Nobel laureate in physiology and medicine, but a perceptive commentary on the faculty role has been circulated by Theodore J. Lowi, associate professor of political science. He wrote:

"By any conceivable definition the faculty at this university is an overwhelmingly liberal faculty. Herein lies the explanation of some of the peculiar behavior exhibited by the faculty during



Marxist Herbert Marcuse, who was just reappointed to the faculty of San Diego State over conservative protests, has been a longtime example of academic extremism.

the current crisis, a crisis that goes far beyond the sit-in and will not end with the end of the sit-in.

"Liberals are famously capable of handling demands that originate from their right. Their defenses are well organized, their responses are facile yet firm, their knowledge of what is negotiable and what is non-negotiable is unmistakably clear.



Mrs. Marlene Dixon, the controversial radical sociology professor at the University of Chicago, addresses a press conference February 12. The university's refusal to rehire her precipitated a sit-in by students.

"In contrast, liberals are almost completely incapable of handling demands that issue from their left. Complaints from the left confuse the liberal. Complaints from the left automatically weaken him by implication that he is not liberal enough. Demands from the left make him feel illegit. And the liberal feels this way regardless of the actual, substantive character of the demands.

"Facing left, the liberal frankly cannot distinguish a good demand from a bad one, for voices from the left remove his bearings. In his mind organized knowledge becomes a mere structure; through shame, all structures curdle into mere establishments, and all establishments are reactionary unless they can be

shown to be in the process of systematically creating their own counter-establishment, counter-heroes, and counter-myths. The liberal faces right with forthrightness and honesty. He faces left with hypocrisy."

Prof. Lowi says that "departmental silence creates a presumption of negotiability" of issues raised by the agitators, adding: "If the demand for student and alumni power had come from even the respectable right, faculty reaction would have been easy to predict. Why is the same demand from the left so different?"

To use a bit of Marxian terminology ourselves, the faculty liberals are in the process of perishing through their own contradictions. When somebody gets to the left of them, they are impotent and helpless.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

On Draft Vulnerability

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R-Tex.)

I think the most distressing trouble with the draft is the years and years of uncertainty it imposes on young men, particularly students. They cannot with any certainty make plans to continue their education or to start a job until after age 26, since their draft vulnerability exists throughout all the years from age 19 to age 26.



Every one of the major investigations of the draft has concluded that much of the uncertainty could be ended by

reducing from seven to one the years of prime draft vulnerability. This could be accomplished by selecting on a youngest-first basis rather than today's oldest-first system.

That's the main thrust of my own draft bill. It sets up a system under which every draft-eligible man would undergo a single year of major vulnerability to call. Deferred students would be vulnerable for a year after their schooling. If a man were not called during his peak vulnerability year, he could go ahead with career plans virtually assured of being able to complete them.

So, I see two things we should be doing in the defense manpower field. We should begin moves toward an eventual all-volunteer armed force, and

we should move by either executive or legislative action to reduce current draft inequities.

Cigarette Commercials

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R-Conn.)

While there is precedent for the government's regulation of cigarette advertising, I wonder just how much the new Federal Communications Commission regulation will accomplish. I am not certain how many people are encouraged to smoke because of advertising. Cigarette commercials today seem to be aimed more at getting people to switch from one brand to another rather than getting the non-smoker to smoke. Furthermore, it is mighty inconsistent to encourage tobacco growers through Agriculture Department subsidies at the same time that we are trying to discourage tobacco users through restrictions on advertising.

Electoral College Idea

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R-Calif.)

Now that a change in the electoral college seems imminent most congressmen, including myself, are taking another hard look at the advisability of electing a President by popular vote. I have come to the conclusion that I cannot support the idea unless we have uniform election procedures in every village and hamlet across the nation. This is im-



practical, if not impossible.

My own thinking now leans toward a modification of the electoral college. Why not have our 435 representatives and our 100 senators meet in joint session and formally "declare" the election of a President? Each representative would be legally bound to vote for the candidate who received a plurality in his district and each senator would be bound to vote for the candidate who received a plurality in the state. This would eliminate the antiquated electoral college while preserving the republican charter of our government which gives small states fair consideration. It would prevent the possibility of a few large states completely controlling an election. It would be a step in the direction of a popular election by splitting up each state's electoral votes and at the same time it would elevate the importance of congressional races because each congressional election would have considerable significance in the final selection of a President.

Lastly, such a system would obviate the possibility of an undecided election and the possibility which loomed so imminently last fall of the presidency being filled as a result of political compromise, "wheeling and dealing." Right now it is impossible to predict what changes will be made, but the system which appears to have the best chance is something like that which I have outlined.

Continued from page 8

U.S.-Peru Controversy

ment is a part of historical tradition dating back to the conquistadores.

Many competent observers believe that the United States was tragically wrong in following a purely punitive course toward Peru. It has made it infinitely easier for members of the present military junta to whip up popular support for their anti-U.S. actions.

There is reason to believe that the military had long plotted to get rid of President Belaunde Terry, whose five-year-old government had been caught in a quagmire of economic woes, business stagnation, runaway inflation and political confusion. Simply put, they seized upon the IPC agreement to do so. To the plotters, the IPC agreement of President Belaunde could brace the President's sagging image and provide his administration with oil revenues from nationalized fields with which to bail it out of trouble.

In order to justify Belaunde's overthrow, the military had to take a position even more extreme than that of their enemy.

What seems to have happened is that the matter got completely out of hand through a combination of junta demagogery and a truly surprising public response to cries of nationalism. To further complicate matters, there is operating beneath the generals a cluster of young, ambitious colonels whose ideological direction is highly suspect. It was they, it is widely believed, who got the junta to open relations with Communist nations and have kept pushing the top brass to maintain their inflexible position.

Caught between changing Administrations, the State Department has been slow to react. Another reason is this: As of 1967, other U.S. business interests in Peru totalled around \$605 million. A strong stand taken on the IPC issue, some Administration officials argue, will automatically trigger confiscation of all remaining U.S. investments.

They point out that Gen. Velasco has taken pains to assure the United States that, in his words, "the case of IPC is unique and not representative of Peru's attitude toward foreign investors." Indeed, the junta has gone out of its way to encourage more investments in Peru. It has also sought to dispel any notion that Peru might move more closely into orbit with the Soviet Union. Yet, observers have little doubt that unless the IPC problem is

solved, Soviet and Rumanian "technicians" will soon be operating the La Brea y Parinas oil fields.

On the other side are those who are convinced that the United States must take a firm stand. They argue that, if successful in taking over IPC's holdings, it will be only a matter of time before the military junta will confiscate other U.S. investments. Furthermore, other U.S. investments in Latin America will be placed in deadly peril. In this sense, IPC and other U.S. investors in Peru have become pawns in international politics.

With all this said, it would appear that on April 9, the last day of the six-month period of waiting under the Hickenlooper Amendment, all U.S. aid to Peru will stop, along with the payment of \$45 million in annual premiums for Peru's sugar. The law is clear on this point.

Whether Peru will break off all relations with the United States remains to be seen. If this happens, President Nixon will be faced with a crisis of the first magnitude—not in Europe or the Mideast, where his attention is focused—but in Latin America. And he will be hard-pressed to explain why, after nearly four months since winning the election, he has not come up with a capable and tough assistant secretary for Inter-American Affairs.

There is one hope, though a small one. Gen. Velasco is an officer of minimum distinction who had a hard time convincing the other branches of the armed services to join the Army in overthrowing President Belaunde. Air Force leaders opposed the coup initially and gave their support grudgingly only after the Army convinced them that it could mount superior force in any showdown. Considering the stakes, it is not improbable that a sub-surface debate is raging to drop the generals in favor of new faces and a more flexible position toward the United States.

The Soviet Union is perfectly aware of the possibility of a change in the junta, possibly even of its overthrow, and is taking steps that in such an event the United States will be blamed. Here is one typical daily Spanish program beamed to Latin America over Moscow's "Radio Peace and Progress": "The CIA is increasing its activities in Peru to discredit those members of the Peruvian military junta who are consistently defending their national sovereignty . . . and will do everything in its power to remove them. . . ."

House Retains HCUA Functions

Following is the key procedural vote by which the House of Representatives on February 18 voted in effect to retain the functions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities while changing its name to the House Committee on Internal Security. The vote was 262 to 123 in favor of moving the previous question on changing the name, hence barring liberal plans to curb or sabotage the powers of the committee. On a formal record vote later in the day, the House voted 305 to 79 to change the name of the committee.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 108

Abbott
Abernethy
Albert
Alexander
Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Aspinall
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Blanton
Boggs
Brinkley
Burlison (Tex.)
Burlison (Mo.)
Cabell
Caffery
Chappell
Clark
Colmer
Daniel (Va.)
Daniels (N.J.)
de la Garza
Donohue
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Edmondson
Edwards (La.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon
Fascell
Fisher
Flood
Flowers
Fountain
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Gibbons
Griffin
Griffiths
Haley
Hamilton
Hanley
Hebert
Henderson
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (N. C.)
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Kyros
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Lennon
McMillan
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Mann
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Patman
Pepper
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Philbin
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Pryor (Ark.)
Purcell
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Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Ullman
Vigorito
Waggonner
Watts
White
Whitten
Wright
Yatron
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 154

Adair
Andrews (N. D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Beall (Md.)
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
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Ashley
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Bianchi
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Hays
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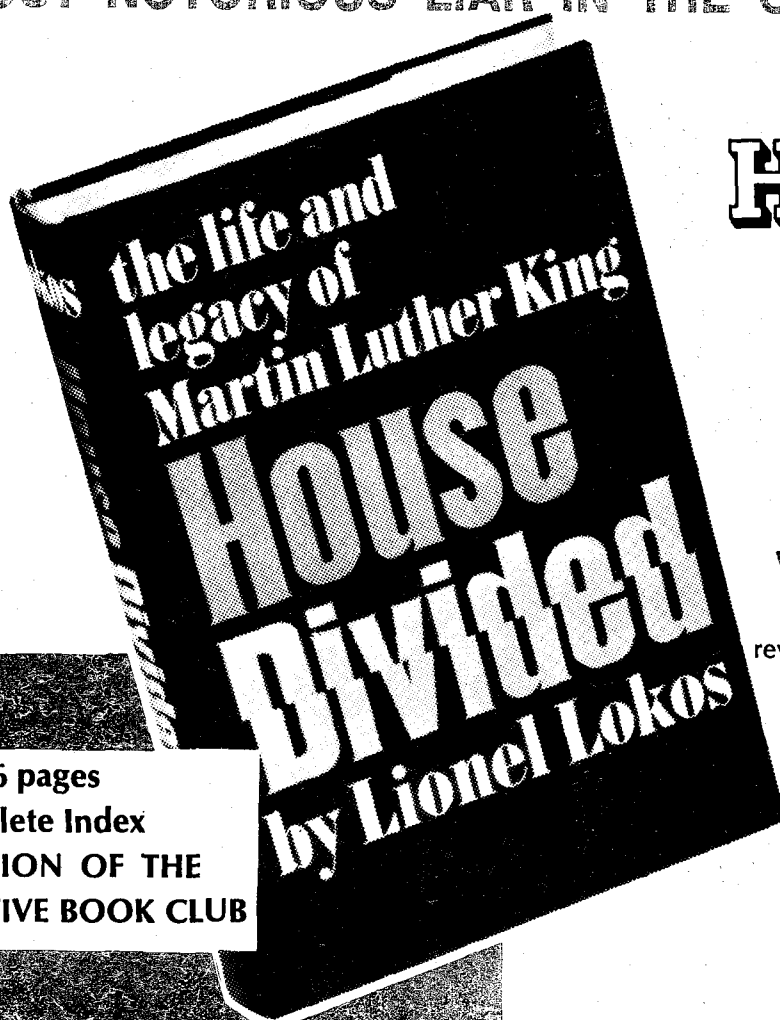
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Nedzi
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Pucinski
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Rooney (N. Y.)
Rostenkowski
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Smith (Iowa)
Stokes
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Tunney
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Yates

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Button
Cahill
Conte
Dellenback
Derwinski
Dwyer
Esch
Frelinghuysen
Gude
Halpern
Horton
McCloskey
Morse
Moshier
Reid (N. Y.)
Schwengel
Stafford
Whalen
Wyder

NOT VOTING: 46

J. EDGAR HOOVER (a man not given to hysteria) CALLED MARTIN LUTHER KING "THE MOST NOTORIOUS LIAR IN THE COUNTRY." WHY?



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- The double standard employed by Martin Luther King, who justified his own disobedience to the law in the most moralistic terms, yet cried out for law enforcement when his adversaries used the same tactic.
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- The author examines King's doctrine of non-violence, finds in it the very seeds of the violence that predictably followed each new King campaign.
- Tragic dilemma for millions of Negro moderates.
- The special danger to minorities in Martin Luther King's philosophy, as explained by Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Whittaker.
- Governor Agnew gives stern lecture to Negro community leaders. "Moderates" walk out.
- Selma march produces nothing for local Negroes, but saves SCLC from probable bankruptcy. The Joy of Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy: "We're going to have our first million-dollar year."
- Friendly biographer admits that King sent aides "to Birmingham to secretly recruit workers and to lay the groundwork for a crisis" because he needed a political victory.
- Chicago swelters as King leads 3-mile march on City Hall . . . in an air-cooled car.
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— Lionel Lokos

HOUSE DIVIDED: The Life and Legacy of MARTIN LUTHER KING

by Lionel Lokos

WE SHARE THE HORROR felt by every decent American at the violence that cut down Martin Luther King. But the tragedy is only compounded when history is rewritten to make the victim a martyr; even, blasphemously, a latter-day Christ. And that is what we are getting from the dozens of "assassination books" now tumbling off the presses: propaganda posing as history.

There is an even greater danger if we turn away from the truth. Because in the truth about Martin Luther King we can discover where our nation has taken the wrong turns; why race is being pitted against race; and how to right those wrong turns. Despite the tragedy of April 4, Birmingham remains Birmingham, Selma remains Selma, history remains history, facts remain facts. That is why we salute a brave journalist, and are proud to bring you his book on Dr. King . . . a book that disdains to rewrite history.

This is no quickie biography, rushed to the printer to cash in on the emotional shock of the assassination. Lionel Lokos, author of *Hysteria 1964: The Fear Campaign Against Barry Goldwater*, spent nearly two years researching and writing this book. After the assassination he went back to his typewriter to add the climactic chapter, "A Bullet in Memphis."

The scope of this bold book is much broader than the life of one man. This is the story of a decade of discontent: the Montgomery bus boycott which launched Dr. King; Birmingham and Selma; several campaigns the civil-rights movement would like to forget, with the author's illuminating analysis of why certain communities were not overcome by King's "loving confrontations." Here too are careful accounts of the rise of Black Power, and Stokely Carmichael's sudden prominence; of riots in Los Angeles, Newark, Detroit and hundreds of other American communities; of King's attempts to merge the civil-rights and anti-Vietnam-war movements; of his political love affair with Ho Chi Minh; of the guerrilla warfare that is raking our cities.

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